

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS
IN
ENGLAND;

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the KING's blessed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of May, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right-Honorable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,
Late Lord High-Chancellor of England, Privy-Counsellor
in the Reigns of King CHARLES the First and the Second.

Κτλμξ ι; αὐ. Thucyd.

Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

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M D C C X C V I I I



THE
History of the Rebellion, etc.
B O O K XIV.

Job xx. 19. 22.

*Because he hath oppressed and hath forsaken the Poor;
because he hath violently taken away a House which
he built not;*

*In the fulness of his sufficiency he shall be in straits;
every hand of the wicked shall come upon him.*

Job xxvii. 15.

*Those that remain of him shall be buried in death, and
his Widows shall not weep.*

HAD not God reserved the Deliverance and Restoration of the King to Himself, and resolved to accomplish it when there appeared least hope of it, and least worldly means to bring it to pass; there happened at this time another very great Alteration in *England*, that, together with the continuance of the War with *Holland*, and Affronts every day offered to *France*, might very reasonably have administered great hopes to the King of a speedy change of Government there. From the time of the defeat at *Worcester*, and the reduction of *Scotland* and *Ireland* to perfect Obedience, *Cromwell* did not find the Parliament so supple to observe his Orders, as he expected

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B O O K they would have been. The Presbyterian Party,
XIV. which he had discountenanced all he could, and made his Army of the Independent Party, were bold in contradicting him in the House, and crossing all his designs in the City, and exceedingly inveighed against the Licence that was practised in Religion, by the several Factions of Independents, Anabaptists, and the several Species of these; who contemned all Magistrates, and the Laws established. All these, how contradictory soever to one another, *Cromwell* cherished and protected, that he might not be over-run by the Presbyterians; of whom the time was not yet come that he could make use: yet he seemed to show much respect to some principal Preachers of that Party; and consulted much with them, how the distempers in Religion might be composed.

Though he had been forward enough to enter upon the War of *Holland*, that so there might be no Proposition made for the Disbanding any part of his Army, which otherwise could not be prevented, yet he found the expence of it was so great, that the Nation could never bear that addition of burden to the other of Land-Forces; which how apparent soever, he saw the Parliament so fierce for the carrying on that War, that they would not hearken to any reasonable Conditions of Peace; which the *Dutch* appeared most solicitous to make upon any terms. But that which troubled him most, was the jealousy that his own party of Independents, and other Sectaries, had contracted against him: that Party, that had advanced him to the height he was at, and made him superior to all opposition, even his beloved *Vane*,

thought his Power and Authority to be too great for a Common-wealth, and that He, and his Army, had not dependance enough upon, or submission to the Parliament. So that he found those who had exalted him, now most solicitous to bring him lower; and he knew well enough what any diminution of his Power and Authority must quickly be attended with. He observed, that those his old Friends very frankly united themselves with His and Their old Enemies, the Presbyterians, for the prosecution of the War with *Holland*, and obstructing all the Overtures towards Peace; which must, in a short time, exhaust the Stock, and consequently disturb any settlement in the Kingdom.

In this perplexity he resorts to his old remedy, his Army; and again erects another Council of Officers, who, under the Style, first, of Petitions, and then, of Remonstrances, interposed in whatsoever had any relation to the Army; used great importunity for "the Arrears of their pay; that they might not be compelled to take free Quarter upon their fellow Subjects, who already paid so great Contributions and Taxes; which they were well assured, if well managed, would abundantly defray all the Charges of the War, and of the Government." The sharp Answers the Parliament gave to their Addresses, and the reprehensions for their presumption in meddling with matters above them, gave the Army new matter to reply to; and put them in mind of some former professions they had made, "that they would be glad to be eased of the Burden of their employment; and that there might be successive Parliaments to under-

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Cromwell erects another Council of Officers; who expostulate with the Parliament about their Arrears, and their own Dissolution.

B O O K "go the same trouble They had done." They there-
XIV. fore desired them, "that they would remember how
 "many years they had sat; and though they had
 "done great things, yet it was a great injury to the
 "rest of the Nation, to be utterly excluded from bear-
 "ing any part in the Service of their Country, by
 "their ingrossing the whole power into Their hands;
 "and thereupon besought them, that they would
 "settle a Council for the administration of the Go-
 "vernment during the Interval, and then dissolve
 "themselves, and Summon a new Parliament; which,
 "they told them, "would be the most popular Act
 "they could perform."

These Addresses in the Name of the Army, being
 confidently delivered by some Officers of it, and as
 confidently seconded by others who were Members
 of the House, it was thought necessary, that they
 should receive a solemn debate, to the end that when
 the Parliament had declared its resolution and deter-
 mination, all Persons might be obliged to acquiesce
 therein, and so there would be an end put to all Ad-
 dresses of that kind.

There were many Members of the House, who
 either from the justice and reason of the Request, or
 seasonably to comply with the sense of the Army, to
 which they foresaw they should be at last compelled
 to submit, seemed to think it necessary, for abating
 the great Envy, which was confessedly against the
 Parliament throughout the Kingdom, that they should
 be dissolved, to the end the People might make a new
 Election of such Persons as they thought fit to trust
 with their Liberty and Property, and whatsoever was

The Parlia-
 ment debate
 about the pe-
 riod of their
 sitting.

OF THE REBELLION.

dearest to them. But Mr. *Martyn* told them, "that he
 " thought they might find the best Advice from the
 " Scripture, what they were to do in this particular :
 " that When *Moses* was found upon the River, and
 " brought to *Pharoah's* Daughter, she took care that
 " the Mother might be found out, to whose care he
 " might be committed to be nursed ; which succeeded
 " very happily." He said, " their Common-wealth
 " was yet an Infant, of a weak growth, and a very
 " tender constitution ; and therefore his opinion was ;
 " that no body could be so fit to nurse it, as the Mo-
 " ther who brought it forth ; and that they should not
 " think of putting it under any other hands. until it
 " had obtained more years and vigor." To which he
 added, " that they had another Infant too under their
 " hands, the War with *Holland* ; which had thrived
 " wonderfully under their Conduct ; but he much
 " doubted that it would be quickly strangled, if it
 " were taken out of their care who had hitherto
 " governed it."

These Reasons prevailed so far, that, whatsoever
 was said to the contrary, it was determined, that the
 Parliament would not yet think of Dissolving, nor
 would take it well, that any Persons should take the
 presumption any more to make Overtures to them of
 that Nature, which was not fit for private and parti-
 cular Persons to meddle with : and to put a Seasonable
 stop to any farther presumption of that kind, they
 appointed a Committee " speedily to prepare an Act
 " of Parliament for the filling up of their House ; and
 " by which, it should be declared to be High-Trea-
 " son, for any Man to propose, or contrive the

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Harry Mar-
 tyr's Appli-
 cation of the
 Story of Moses
 to this pur-
 pose.

The Parlia-
 ment deter-
 mined, that
 they would
 not yet think
 of Dissolving.

BOOK "changing of the present Government settled, and
XIV. "established."

This Bill being prepared by the Committee, they resolv'd to pass it with all possible expedition. So *Cromwell* clearly discerned, that by this means they would never be persuaded to part with that Authority and Power, which was so profitable, and so pleasant to them: yet the Army declared they were not satisfied with the Determination, and continued their Applications to the same purpose, or to others as unagreeable to the sense of the House; and did all they could to infuse the same Spirit into all the parts of the Kingdom, to make the Parliament odious, as it was already very abundantly; and *Cromwell* was well pleased that the Parliament should express as much prejudice against the Army.

Cromwell and his Officers dissolve the Parliament.

All things being thus prepared, *Cromwell* thought this a good season to expose these Enemies of Peace to the indignation of the Nation; which, he knew, was generally weary of the War, and hoped, if that were at an end, that they should be eased of the greatest part of their Contributions, and other Impositions: thereupon, having adjusted all things with the Chief-Officers of the Army, who were at his Devotion, in the Month of *April*, that was in the year 1653, he came into the House of Parliament in a Morning when it was sitting, attended with the Officers, who were likewise Members of the House, and told them, "that he
"came thither to put an end to their Power and Au-
"thority; which they had managed so ill, that the
"Nation could be no otherwise preserved than by
"their Dissolution; which he advised them, without
"farther Debate, quietly to submit unto."

Thereupon another Officer, with some Files of Musqueteers, entered into the House, and stayed there till all the Members walked out; *Cromwell* reproaching many of the Members by Name, as they went out of the House, with their Vices and Corruptions, and amongst the rest, *Sir Harry Vane* with his breach of Faith and Corruption; and having given the Mace to an Officer to be safely kept, he caused the Doors to be locked up; and so dissolved that Assembly, which had sat almost thirteen years, and under whose Name he had wrought so much mischief, and reduced three Kingdoms to his own entire obedience and subjection, without any example or Precedent in the Christian World that could raise his Ambition to such a presumptuous Undertaking, and without any rational dependance upon the friendship of one Man who had any other Interest to advance his designs, but what he had given him by preferring him in the War.

When He had thus prosperously passed this *Rubicon*, he lost no time in publishing a Declaration of the grounds and reasons of his Proceeding, for the satisfaction of the People: in which he put them in mind, “ how miraculously God had appeared for them in
“ reducing *Ireland* and *Scotland* to so great a degree
“ of Peace, and *England* to a perfect quiet; whereby
“ the Parliament had opportunity to give the People
“ the harvest of all their Labor, Blood, and Treasure;
“ and to settle a due Liberty in reference to Civil and
“ Spiritual things, whereunto they were obliged by
“ their Duty, and those great and wonderful things
“ God had wrought for them. But that they had
“ made so little progress towards this good end, that

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“ it was matter of much grief to the good People of
“ the Land, who had thereupon applied themselves
“ to the Army, expecting Redress by their means;
“ who being very unwilling to meddle with the Civil
“ Authority, thought fit that some Officers, who
“ were Members of the Parliament, should move, and
“ desire the Parliament to proceed vigorously in re-
“ forming what was amiss in the Common-wealth,
“ and in settling it upon a Foundation of Justice and
“ Righteousness: that they found this, and some
“ other Endeavours they had used; produced no
“ good effect, but rather an averfeness to the things
“ themselves, with much bitterness and aversion to
“ the People of God, and his Spirit acting in them:
“ infomuch as the Godly Party in the Army was now
“ become of no other Use, than to countenance the
“ ends of a corrupt Party, that desired to perpetuate
“ themselves in the supreme Government of the Na-
“ tion: that, for the obviating those Evils, the Offi-
“ cers of the Army had obtained several meetings
“ with some Members of the Parliament, to consider
“ what remedies might properly be applied; but that
“ it appeared very evident unto them, that the Par-
“ liament, by want of Attendance of many of their
“ Members, and want of Integrity in others who did
“ attend, would never answer those ends; which God,
“ his People, and the whole Nation, expected from
“ them; but that this Cause, which God had so
“ greatly blessed, must needs languish under their
“ hands; and by degrees be lost, and the Lives, Liber-
“ ties, and Comforts of his People, be delivered into
“ their Enemies hands. All which being seriously

“ and sadly considered by the honest People of the Nation, as well as by the Army, it seemed a Duty incumbent upon them, who had seen so much of the power and presence of God, to consider of some effectual means, whereby to establish Righteousness and Peace in these Nations: that, after much Debate, it had been judged necessary, that the supreme Government should be, by the Parliament, devolved for a time upon known Persons, fearing God, and of approved Integrity, as the most hopeful way to countenance all God’s People, preserve the Law, and administer Justice impartially; hoping thereby, that People might forget Monarchy, and understand their true Interest in the election of successive Parliaments, and so the Government might be settled upon a right basis, without hazard to this glorious Cause, or necessity to keep up Armies for the defence thereof: that being resolved, if possible, to decline all extraordinary Courses, they had prevailed with about twenty Members of the Parliament to give them a conference; with whom they debated the justice and necessity of that Proposition; but found them of so contrary an opinion, that they insisted upon the continuance of the present Parliament, as it was then constituted, as the only way to bring those good things to pass which they seemed to desire: that they insisted upon this with so much vehemence, and were so much transported with passion, that they caused a Bill to be prepared for the perpetuating this Parliament, and investing the supreme power in themselves. And for the preventing the consummation of this Act,

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BOOK " and all the sad and evil consequences, which, upon
 XIV. " the grounds thereof, must have ensued, and where-
 " by, at one blow, the Interest of all honest Men, and
 " of this glorious Cause, had been in danger to
 " be laid in the dust, they had been necessitated
 " (though with much repugnance) to put an end to
 " the Parliament."

There needs not be any other description of the temper of the Nation at that time, than the remembering that the dissolution of that Body of Men, who had reigned so long over the three Nations, was generally very grateful and acceptable to the People, how unusual soever the circumstances thereof had been; and that this Declaration, which was not only subscribed by *Cromwell*, and his Council of Officers, but was owned by the Admirals at Sea, and all the Captains of Ships, and by the Commanders of all the Land-Forces in *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, was looked upon as very reasonable; and the Declaration, that issued thereupon, by which the People were required to live peaceably, and quietly to submit themselves to the Government of the Council of State, which should be nominated by the General, until such a time as a Parliament, consisting of Persons of approved fidelity and honesty, could meet, and take upon them the Government of those Nations, found an equal submission, and obedience.

The Method he pursued afterwards, for the composing a Government, by first putting it into a most ridiculous Confusion, and by divesting himself of all pretences to Authority, and putting what he had no title to keep into the hands of Men so well chosen,

that they should shortly after delegate the power in form of Law to him for the preservation of the Nation, was not less admirable; and puts me in mind of what *Seneca* said of *Pompey*, "that he had brought the People of *Rome* to that pass," by magnifying their power and authority, *ut salvus esse non possit nisi beneficio servitutis*. And if *Cromwell* had not now made himself a Tyrant, all Bonds being broken, and the universal Guilt diverting all inclinations to return to the King's obedience. they must have perished together in such a confusion, as would rather have exposed them as a Prey to Foreigners, than disposed them to the only reasonable way for their preservation; there being no Man that durst mention the King, or the old form of Government.

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It was upon the twentieth of *April* that the Parliament had been dissolved; and though *Cromwell* found that the People were satisfied in it, and the Declaration published thereupon, yet he knew, it would be necessary to provide some other visible power to settle the Government, than the Council of Officers; all whom he was not sure he should be able long entirely to govern, many of them having clear other Notions of a Republic than he was willing *England* should be brought to. A Parliament was still a name of more veneration than any other Assembly of Men was like to be, and the contempt the last was fallen into, was like to teach the next to behave itself with more discretion. However the Ice was broken for dissolving them, when they should do otherwise; yet he was not so well satisfied in the general temper, as to trust the Election of them to the humor and inclination of the People.

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Cromwell and
his Officers
chuse a Par-
liament.

He resolved therefore to chuse them himself, that he might with the more Justice unmake them when he should think fit; and with the Advice of his Council of Officers, for he made yet no other Council of State, he made choice of a number of Men consisting of above one hundred Persons, who should meet as a Parliament to settle the Government of the Nation. It can hardly be believed that so wild a Notion should fall into any Man's imagination, that such a People should be fit to contribute towards any settlement, or that from their Actions any thing could result, that might advance his particular design. Yet upon the view and consideration of the Persons made choice of, many did conclude, "that he had made his own scheme" "entirely to himself; and though he communicated" "it with no Man that was known, concluded it the" "most natural way to ripen, and produce the Effects," "it did afterwards, to the end he proposed to himself."

Conditions
and Qualities
of the Persons
nominated.

There were amongst them divers of the Quality and Degree of Gentlemen, and who had Estates, and such a proportion of credit and reputation, as could consist with the guilt they had contracted. But much the Major part of them consisted of inferior Persons, of no Quality, or Name, Artificers of the meanest Trades, known only by their gifts in Praying and Preaching; which was now practised by all degrees of Men, but Scholars, throughout the Kingdom. In which number, that there may be a better judgment made of the rest, it will not be amiss to name one, from whom that Parliament itself was afterwards denominated, who was *Praise-God* (that was his Christian Name) *Barebone*, a Leather-seller in *Fleet-street*, from

From one of
the Members,
this was nick-
named *Praise*.

whom (he being an eminent Speaker in it) it was afterwards called *Praise-God Barebone's* Parliament. In a word they were generally a pack of weak-senseless Fellows, fit only to bring the Name, and Reputation of Parliaments, lower than it was yet.

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God Barebone's Parliament.

It was fit these new Men should be brought together by some new way: and a very new way it was; for *Cromwell* by his Warrants, directed to every one of them, telling them "of the necessity of dissolving the late Parliament, and of an equal necessity, that the Peace, Safety, and good Government of the Commonwealth should be provided for, and therefore that he had, by the Advice of his Council of Officers, nominated divers Persons fearing God, and of approved fidelity and honesty, to whom the great Charge and Trust of so weighty Affairs was to be committed, and that having good assurance of their love to, and courage for God, and the Interest of his Cause, and the good People of this Commonwealth;" he concluded in these words, "I *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain-General and Commander in Chief of all the Forces raised, or to be raised within this Commonwealth, do hereby summon and require you personally to be, and appear at the Council-Chamber at *White-Hall*, upon the fourth day of *July* next, then and there to take upon you the said Trust. And you are hereby called, and appointed to serve as a Member of the County of, &c." Upon this wild Summons, the Persons so nominated appeared at the Council-Chamber upon the fourth of *July*, which was near three Months after the Dissolution of the former Parliament.

Cromwell calls them together by his own Warrant to meet. *July* 4.

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Cromwell
speaks to them,
and delivers
them an Instru-
ment for their
Authority.

Cromwell with his Council of Officers was ready to receive them, and made them a long discourse of "the fear of God, and the honor due to his Name," full of Texts of Scripture; and remembered "the wonderful Mercies of God to this Nation, and the continued Series of Providence, by which he had appeared in carrying on his Cause, and bringing Affairs into that present glorious condition, wherein they now were." He put them in mind of "the noble Actions of the Army in the famous Victory of *Worcester*, of the Applications they had made to the Parliament, for a good settlement of all the Affairs of the Commonwealth, the neglect whereof made it absolutely necessary to dissolve it." He assured them by many Arguments, some of which were urged out of Scripture "that they had a very lawful Call to take upon them the supreme Authority of the Nation," and concluded with a very earnest desire, "that great tenderness might be used towards all conscientious Persons of what judgment soever they appeared to be."

When he had finished his discourse, he delivered to them an Instrument engrossed in Parchment under his Hand and Seal, whereby, with the advice of his Council of Officers, he did devolve, and intrust the supreme Authority of this Commonwealth into the hands of those Persons therein mentioned; and declared, "that they, or any forty of them were to be held and acknowledged the supreme Authority of the Nation, to which all Persons within the same, and the Territories thereunto belonging, were to yield obedience and subjection to the third day of the Month

" of November, which should be in the Year 1654," which was about a Year and three Months from the time that he spoke to them; and three Months before the time prescribed should expire, they were to make choice of other Persons to succeed them, whose Power and Authority should not exceed one Year, and then They were likewise to provide, and take care for a like succession in the Government. Being thus invested with this Authority, they repaired to the Parliament-House, and made choice of one *Rouse* to be their Speaker, an old Gentleman of *Devonshire*, who had been a Member of the former Parliament, and in that time been preferred and made Provost of the College of *Eton*, which Office he then enjoyed, with an opinion of having some knowledge in the Latin and Greek Tongues, but of a very mean understanding, but thoroughly engaged in the guilt of the times.

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They repair to
the Parliament-
House, and
choose Rouse
their Speaker;

At their first coming together, some of them had the modesty to doubt, that they were not, in many respects, so well qualified as to take upon them the Style and Title of a Parliament. But that modesty was quickly subdued, and they were easily persuaded to assume that Title, and to consider themselves as the supreme Authority in the Nation. These Men thus brought together continued in this Capacity near six Months to the amazement, and even mirth of the People. In which time they never entered upon any grave and serious Debate, that might tend to any settlement, but generally expressed great sharpness, and animosity against the Clergy, and against all Learning, out of which they thought the Clergy had grown, and still would grow.

They assume
the Name of a
Parliament:

Their Actions
and Confessions.

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There were now no Bishops for them to be angry with; they had already reduced all that Order to the lowest distress. But their quarrel was against all who had called themselves Ministers, and who, by being called so, received Tithes, and respect from their Neighbours. They looked upon the function itself to be Anti-Christian, and the Persons to be burdensome to the People, and the requiring, and payment, of Tithes to be absolute Judaism, and they thought fit that they should be abolished altogether; and that there might not for the time to come be any race of People who might revive those pretences, they proposed "that all Lands belonging to the Universities, " and Colleges in those Universities, might be sold, " and the Monies that should arise thereby, be disposed for the public Service, and to ease the People " from the payment of Taxes and Contributions."

When they had tired and perplexed themselves so long in such Debates, as soon as they were met in the morning upon the twelfth of *December*, and before many of them were come who were like to dissent from the Motion, one of them stood up and declared, " that he did believe, they were not equal to the " Burden that was laid upon them; and therefore " that they might dissolve themselves, and deliver " back their Authority into Their hands from whom " they had received it;" which being presently consented to, their Speaker, with those who were of that mind, went to *White-Hall*, and redelivered to *Cromwell* the Instrument they had received from him, acknowledged their own Impotency, and besought him to take care of the Common-wealth.

On the 12 of
December
they delivered
up their power
to Cromwell.

By

By this frank Donation He and his Council of Officers were once more possessed of the Supreme Sovereign Power of the Nation. And in few days after, his Council were too modest to share with him in this Royal Authority, but declared, "that the Government of the Common-wealth should reside in a single Person; that that Person should be *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain-General of all the Forces in *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and that his Title should be *Lord Protector* of the Common wealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and of the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging; and that He should have a Council of one-and-twenty Persons to be Assistant to him in the Government."

His Council of Officers make him Lord Protector.

Most Men did now conclude, that the folly and foolishness of this last Assembly was so much foreseen, that, from their very first coming together, it was determined what should follow their Dissolution. For the method that succeeded, could hardly have been composed in so short a time after, by Persons who had not consulted upon the contingency some time before. It was upon the twelfth of *December*, that the small Parliament was dissolved, when many of the Members, who came to the House as to their usual consultations, found that they who came before, were gone to *White-Hall* to be dissolved; which the other never thought of: and upon the sixteenth day, the Commissioners of the Great-Seal, with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, were sent for to attend *Cromwell* and his Council to *Westminster-Hall*; it being then vacation-time; and being come thither, the Commissioners sitting upon their usual Seat, and not knowing why

December 16.
He is installed in Westminster-Hall according to an Instrument of Government.

B O O K

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The Substance
of it.

they were sent for, the Declaration of the Council of Officers was read, whereby *Cromwell* was made Protector; who stood in the Court uncovered, whilst what was contained in a piece of Parchment was read, which was called the *Instrument of Government*; whereby it was ordained, "that the Protector should call a Parliament once in every three years; that the first Parliament should be convened upon the third day of *September* following, which would be in the year 1654; and that he should not dissolve any Parliament once met, till they had sat five Months; that such Bills as should be presented to him by the Parliament, if they should not be confirmed by him within twenty days, should pass without him, and be looked upon as Laws: that he should have a select Council to assist him, which should not exceed the Number of one-and-twenty, nor be less than thirteen: that immediately after his death, the Council should chuse another Protector, before they rose: that no Protector after him should be General of the Army: that the Protector should have power to make Peace and War: that, with the consent of his Council, he should make Laws, which should be binding to the Subjects during the Intervals of Parliament."

Cromwell
takes an Oath
to observe it.

Whilst this was reading, *Cromwell* had his hand upon the Bible; and it being read, he took his Oath, "that he would not violate any thing that was contained in that Instrument of Government; but would observe, and cause the same to be observed; and in all things, according to the best of his understanding, govern the Nation according to the Laws,

“ Statutes, and Customs, seeking Peace and causing Justice and Law to be equally administered.” B O O K
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This new-invented Ceremony being in this manner performed, He himself was covered, and all the rest bare; and *Lambert*, who was then the second Person in the Army, carried the Sword before his Highness (which was the Style he took from thenceforth) to his Coach, all they whom he called into it, sitting bare: and so he returned to *White-Hall*; and immediately Proclamation was made by a Herald, in the *Palace-Yard at Westminster*, “ that the late Parliament
“ having dissolved themselves, and resigned their
“ whole Power and Authority, the Government of
“ the Common-wealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and
“ *Ireland*, by a Lord Protector, and successive Triennial Parliaments, was now established: and whereas
“ *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain-General of all the Forces
“ of the Common-wealth, is declared Lord Protector
“ of the said Nations, and had accepted thereof,
“ publication was now made of the same; and all Persons, of what Quality or Condition soever, in any
“ of the said three Nations, were strictly charged and
“ commanded to take notice thereof, and to conform
“ and submit themselves to the Government so established; and all Sheriffs, Mayors, &c. were required to publish this Proclamation, to the end that
“ none might have cause to pretend Ignorance therein.” Which Proclamation was at the same time published in *Cheapside* by the Lord Mayor of *London*; and, with all possible expedition, by the Sheriffs, and other Officers, throughout *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. And in some time after, the City of *London*

He is proclaimed Protector.

The City invites him to Grocers-Hall.

B O O K invited their new Protector to a very splendid Entertainment at *Grocers-Hall*, upon an *Ash-Wednesday*; the Streets being railed, and the Solemnity of his Reception such as had been at any time performed to the King: and He, as like a King, graciously conferred the honor of Knighthood upon the Lord Mayor at his departure.

XIV.

In this manner, and with so little pains, this extraordinary Man, without any other reason than because he had a mind to it, and without the assistance, and against the desire of all Noble Persons or Men of Quality, or of any Number of Men, who, in the beginning of the Troubles, were possessed of three hundred pounds Lands by the year, mounted himself into the Throne of three Kingdoms, without the Name of King, but with a greater Power and Authority than had ever been exercised, or claimed by any King; and received greater evidence and manifestation of respect, and esteem, from all the Kings and Princes in *Christendom*, than had ever been showed to any Monarch of those Nations: which was so much the more notorious, in that they all abhorred him, when they trembled at his Power, and courted his Friendship.

Though during this last year's unsettlement in *England*, *Cromwell* had, *ex plenitudine potestatis*, taken care that there was a good Winter-Guard of Ships in the *Downs*, yet the *Dutch* had enjoyed a very fruitful harvest of Trade during that confusion, and suspension of Power; and had sent out their Fleets of Merchant-Men under a Convoy, by the North of *Scotland*; and, by the return of that Convoy, received their Fleet

from the *Baltick* with security: So that, upon the hope those domestic contentions in *England* would not be so soon composed, they begun to recover their Spirits again. But *Cromwell* had no sooner broke the long Parliament, but, with great diligence, he caused a strong Fleet to be made ready against the Spring; and committed the Command thereof to three Admirals jointly; *Blake*, a Man well known, but not thought entirely enough devoted to *Cromwell*; *Monk*, whom he called out of *Scotland* as his own Creature; and *Dean*, a mere Seaman, grown, from a common Mariner, to the reputation of a bold and excellent Officer.

This Fleet, in the beginning of *June* in the year 1653, met with the *Dutch* about the middle Seas over between *Dover* and *Zeeland*; and made what haste they could to engage them. But the Wind not being favorable, it was noon before the Fight begun; which continued very sharp till the night parted them, without any visible advantage to either side, save that *Dean*, one of the *English* Admirals, was killed by a Cannon-shot from the Rear-Admiral of the *Dutch*. The next morning, the *Dutch* having the advantage of the small Wind that was, the *English* charged so furiously upon the thickest part of them, without discharging any of their Guns till they were at a very small distance, that they broke their Squadrons; and in the end forced them to fly, and make all the Sail they could for their own Coasts, leaving behind them eleven of their Ships; which were all taken; besides six which were sunk. The Execution on the *Dutch* was very great, as was likewise the number of the

B O O K
XIV.

A Fleet this
year 1653 set
forth under
three Admirals.

The Dutch
beaten at Sea
in June.

B O O K Prisoners, as well Officers as Soldiers. The loss of the
XIV. *English* was greatest in their General *Dean*: there was besides him. but one Captain, and about two hundred Common Seamen, killed: the Number of the wounded was greater; nor did they lose one Ship, nor were so disabled but that they followed with the whole Fleet to the Coast of *Holland*, whither the other fled; and being got into the *Flie*, and the *Texel*, the *English* for some time blocked them up in their own Harbours, taking all such Ships as came bound for those parts.

The Dutch
 send four
 Commissioners
 to treat of
 Peace.

This great Defeat so humbled the States, that they made all possible haste to send four Commissioners into *England* to mediate for a Treaty, and a Cessation of Arms; who were received very loftily by *Cromwell*, and with some reprehension for their want of wariness in entering into so unequal a Contention: yet He declared a gracious inclination to a Treaty, till the conclusion whereof he could admit no Cessation; which being known in *Holland*, they would not stay so long under the reproach and disadvantage of being besieged, and shut up in their Ports; but made all possible haste to prepare another Fleet, strong enough to remove the *English* from their Coasts; which they believed was the best Expedient to advance their Treaty: and there cannot be a greater Instance of the opulency of that People, than that they should be able, after so many losses, and so late a great Defeat, in so short a time to set out a Fleet strong enough to visit those who had so lately overcome them, and who shut them up within their Ports.

Their Admiral *Trump* had, with some of the Fleet, retired into the *Wierings*, at too great a distance from

the other Ports for the *English* Fleet to divide itself. He had, with a marvellous Industry, caused his hurt Ships to be repaired; and more severe punishment to be inflicted on those who had behaved themselves cowardly, than had ever been used in that State. And the States published so great and ample rewards to all Officers and Seamen who would, in that conjuncture, repair to their Service, that by the end of *July*, within less than two Months after their Defeat, he came out of the *Wierings* with a Fleet of ninety-and-five Men of War; which as soon as the *English* had notice of, they made towards him. But the Wind rising, they were forced to stand more to Sea, for fear of the Sands and Shelves upon that Coast. Whereupon *Van Trump*, all that Night, stood into the *Texel*; where he joined five and-twenty more of their best Ships; and with this Addition, which made a hundred and twenty Sail, he faced the *English*; who, being at this time under the Command of *Monk* alone, kept still to the Sea; and having got a little more room, and the Weather being a little clearer, tacked about, and were received by the *Dutch* with great courage and gallantry.

The Battle continued very hot, and bloody on both sides, from six of the Clock in the Morning till one in the Afternoon; when the Admiral of *Holland*, the famous *Van Trump*, whilst he very signally performed the Office of a brave and bold Commander, was shot with a Musquet-Bullet into the heart, of which he fell dead without speaking a word. This blow broke the courage of the rest; who seeing many of their Companions burnt and sunk, after having endured very hot Service, before the Evening, fled, and

B O O K

XIV.

Trump comes to Sea with another Fleet before the end of July.

Another Sea-Fight: Trump slain: the English get the Victory.

B O O K made all the Sail they could towards the *Texel*, and the
XIV. *English* were not in a condition to pursue them; but found themselves obliged to retire to their own Coast, both to preserve and mend their maimed and torn Ships, and refresh their wounded Men.

This Battle was the most bloody that had been yet fought, both sides rather endeavouring the destruction of their Enemies Fleet than the taking their Ships. On the *Hollanders* part, between twenty and thirty of their Ships of War were fired, or sunk, and above one thousand Prisoners taken. The Victory cost the *English* dear too; for four hundred common Men, and eight Captains, were slain outright, and above seven hundred common Men, and five Captains, wounded. But they lost only one Ship, which was burned; and two or three more, though carried home, were disabled for farther Service. The most sensible part of the loss to the *Dutch* was the death of their Admiral *Van Trump*, who, in respect of his Maritime experience; and the frequent Actions he had been engaged in, might very well be reckoned amongst the most eminent Commanders at Sea of that age, and to whose memory his Country is farther indebted than they have yet acknowledged.

This was the last Engagement at Sea between the two Common-wealths: for as the *Dutch* were, by this last Defeat, and loss of their brave Admiral, totally dispirited, and gave their Commissioners at *London* order to prosecute the Peace upon any conditions, so *Cromwell*, being by this time become Protector, was weary enough of so chargeable a War, and knew he had much to do to settle the Government.

Cromwell
 makes Peace
 with the
Dutch,
 Aug. 1654.

at home, and that he might chuse more convenient Enemies abroad, who would neither be able to defend themselves as well, or to do him so much harm, as the *Hollanders* had done, and could do. And therefore when he had drawn the *Dutch* to accept of such conditions as he thought fit to give them; among which one was, "that they should not suffer any of the King's Party, or any Enemy to the Commonwealth of *England*, to reside within their Dominions:" and another, which was contained in a secret Article, to which the Great Seal of the States was affixed, by which they obliged themselves "never to admit the Prince of *Orange* to be their Stadt-holder, General, or Admiral; and likewise to deliver up the Island of *Polerone* in the *East-Indies*" (which they had taken from the *English* in the time of King *James*, and usurped it ever since) "into the hands of the *English East-India-Company* again;" and to pay a good Sum of Money for the old barbarous violence exercised so many years since at *Amboyna*; for which the two last Kings could never obtain satisfaction and reparation: about the middle of *April* 1654 He made a Peace with the States-General, with all the advantages he could desire, having indeed all the Persons of power and interest there, fast bound to him upon their joint interest.

And having now rendered himself terrible abroad, He forced *Portugal* to send an Ambassador to beg Peace, and to submit to expiate the offence they had committed in receiving Prince *Rupert*, by the payment of a great Sum of Money; and brought the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* to sue for his Alliance,

He makes
Portugal send
an Ambassador
for Peace.

B O O K
XIV.

He persecutes
the King's
Party.

He suspended for a time to chuse a new Enemy, that he might make himself as much obeyed at home, as he was feared abroad : and in order to that, he prosecuted all those who had been of the King's Party with the utmost Rigor ; laid new impositions upon them ; and upon every light rumor of a Conspiracy, clapped up all those whom he thought fit to suspect, into close Prisons ; enjoined others not to stir from their own Houses, and banished all who had ever been in Arms for the King, from the Cities of *London* and *Westminster* ; and laid other penalties upon them, contrary to the Articles granted to them when they gave up their Arms, and to the indemnity upon making their Compositions.

The general
discontents in
the Nation.

The discontents were general over the whole Kingdom, and among all sorts of People, of what Party soever. The Presbyterians preached boldly against the Liberty of Conscience, and the monstrous Licence that sprung from thence ; and they who enjoyed that Licence were as unsatisfied with the Government as any of the rest, talked more loudly, and threatened the Person of *Cromwell* more than any. But into these distempers *Cromwell* was not inquisitive ; nor would give those Men an opportunity to talk, by calling them in question, who, he knew, would say more than he was willing any body should hear ; but intended to mortify those unruly Spirits at the charge of the King's Party, and with the Spectacle of their suffering upon any the most trivial occasion. And if, in this general licence of discourse, any Man who was suspected to wish well to the King, let fall any light word against the Government, he was sure to be cast in

Prison, and to be pursued with all possible severity and cruelty: and he could not want frequent opportunities of revenge this way. It was the greatest consolation to miserable Men, who had, in themselves or their Friends, been undone by their Loyalty, to meet together, and lament their conditions: and this brought on invectives against the Person of *Cromwell*; Wine, and good Fellowship, and the continuance of the discourse, disposing them to take notice of the universal hatred that the whole Nation had of him, and to fancy how easy it would be to destroy him. And commonly there was, in all those meetings, some corrupted Person of the Party, who somented most the discourse, and, for a vile recompence, betrayed his Companions, and informed of all, and more than had been said. Whereupon a new Plot was discovered against the Common-wealth and the Person of the Protector, and a high Court of Justice was presently erected to try the Criminals; which rarely absolved any Man who was brought before them. But to this kind of Trial they never exposed any Man but those of the King's Party; the others, of whom they were more afraid, had too many Friends to suffer them to be brought before such a Tribunal; which had been first erected to murder the King himself, and continued to root out all who adhered to him. No Man, who had ever been against the King (except he became afterwards for him) was ever brought before that extravagant Power; but such were remitted to the Trial of the Law by juries, which seldom condemned any.

The very next Month after the Peace was made, for the better establishment of *Cromwell's* Empire, a

B O O K
XIV.

A High-Court
of Justice
erected at

B O O K

XIV.

month after
the Peace with
Holland.

Mr. Gerard
and Mr. Vowel
tried before
them.

High-Court of Justice was erected for the Trial of Persons accused of "holding correspondence with *Charles Stuart*" (which was the Style they allowed the King) "and for having a design against the life of the Protector, to seize upon the Tower, and to proclaim the King." The chief Persons they accused of this were, Mr. *Gerard*, a young Gentleman of a good Family, who had been an Ensign in the King's Army, but was not at present above twenty-two years of Age: the other, one Mr. *Vowel*; who kept a School, and taught many Boys about *Islington*. Mr. *Gerard* was charged with "having been at *Paris*, and "having there spoken with the King;" which he confessed; and declared "that he went to *Paris* upon a business that concerned himself" which he named) "and when he had despatched it, and was to return for *England*, he desired the Lord *Gerard*, his Kinsman, to present him to the King, that he might kiss his hand; which he did in a large Room, where were many present; and that, when he asked his Majesty, whether he would command him any Service into *England*? his Majesty bid him to commend him to his Friends there, and to charge them that they should be quiet, and not engage themselves in any Plots; which must prove ruinous to Them, and could do the King no good:" which was very true: for his Majesty had observed so much of the temper of the People at his being at *Worcester*, and his concealment after, the fear they were under, and how fruitless any Insurrection must be, that he endeavoured nothing more than to divert; and suppress all inclinations that way. However, this High-Court

of Justice received proof, that Mr. *Gerard* and Mr. *Vowel* had been present with some other Gentlemen in a Tavern, where discourse had been held, "how easy a thing it was to kill the Protector, and at the same time to seize upon the Tower of *London*, and that, if at the same time the King were proclaimed, the City of *London* would presently declare for his Majesty, and no body would oppose him."

Upon this Evidence those two Gentlemen were condemned to be hanged; and upon the tenth of *July*, about two Months after they had been in Prison, a Gallows was erected at *Charing-Cross*; whither Mr.

Vowel was brought; who was a Person utterly unknown to the King, and to any Person intrusted by him, but very worthy to have his name, and memory preserved in the List of those who showed most magnanimity and courage in sacrificing their Lives for the Crown. He expressed a marvellous contempt of death; "which" he said, "he suffered without having committed any fault." He professed his duty to the King, and his reverence for the Church; and earnestly and pathetically advised the People to return to their fidelity to both; "which," he told them "they would at last be compelled to do after all their sufferings." He addressed himself most to the Soldiers; told them, "how unworthily they prostituted themselves to serve the Ambition of an unworthy Tyrant;" and conjured them "to forsake Him, and to serve the King; which, he was sure, they would at last do." And so having devoutly recommended the King, and the Kingdom, and Himself, to God in very pious Prayers, he ended his Life with as much

BOOK
XIV.

They are
condemned.

Mr. Vowel
executed at
Charing-
Cross: his
magnanimous
behaviour.

B O O K Christian Resolution, as can be expected from the
XIV. most composed Conscience.

Mr. Gerard
 beheaded on
 Tower-Hill in
 the afternoon
 of the same
 day.

The Protector was prevailed with to show more respect to Mr. *Gerard* in causing him to be beheaded, who was brought the Afternoon of the same day to a Scaffold upon *Tower-Hill*. But they were so ill pleased with the behaviour of Him who suffered in the Morning, that they would not permit the other to speak to the People, but pressed him to discover all the Secrets of the Plot and Conspiracy. He told them, "that if he had a hundred lives, he would lose them all to do the King any service; and was now willing to die upon that suspicion; but that he was very innocent of what was charged against him; that he had not entered into, or consented to any Plot or Conspiracy, nor given any countenance to any discourse to that purpose;" and offered again to speak to the People, and to magnify the King: upon which they would not suffer him to proceed; and thereupon, with great and undaunted courage, he laid down his head upon the Block.

The same day
 and place the
 Portugal
 Ambassador's
 Brother be-
 headed.

The same day was concluded with a very exemplary piece of Justice, and of a very different nature from the other two. The Ambassador of *Portugal* had a very splendid Equipage, and in his Company his Brother *Don Pantaleon Sa*, a Knight of *Malta*, and a Man eminent in many great Actions; who out of curiosity accompanied his Brother in this Embassy, that he might see *England*. This Gentleman was of a haughty and imperious nature; and one day being in the new Exchange, upon a sudden accident, and mistake, had a Quarrel with that Mr. *Gerard*, whom we now left

without his Head; who had then returned some negligence and contempt to the Rodomontadoes of the *Portuguese*, and had left him sensible of receiving some affront. Whereupon the *Don* repaired thither again the next day, with many Servants, better armed, and provided for any Encounter, imagining he should there find his former Adversary, who did not expect that visit. But the *Portuguese* not distinguishing Persons, and finding many Gentlemen walking there, and, amongst the rest, one he believed very like the other, he thought he was not to lose the occasion, and entered into a new Quarrel; in which a Gentleman utterly unacquainted with what had formerly passed, and walking there accidentally, was killed, and others hurt; upon which, the People rising from all the Neighbour-places, *Don Pantaleon* thought fit to make his retreat to his Brother's House; which he did, and caused the Gate to be locked, and put all the Servants in Arms to defend the House against the People; which had pursued him, and flocked now together from all parts to apprehend those who had caused the disorder, and had killed a Gentleman.

The Ambassador knew nothing of the affair, but looked upon himself as affronted, and assaulted by a rude Multitude; and took care to defend his House till the Justice should allay the Tumult. *Cromwell* was quickly advertised of the insolence, and sent an Officer with Soldiers to demand and seize upon all the Persons who had been engaged in the Action: and so the Ambassador came to be informed of the truth of the story, with which he was exceedingly afflicted and astonished. The Officer demanded the Person of his

B O O K Brother, who was well known, and the rest of those
XIV. who were present, to be delivered to him, without which he would break open the House, and find them wherever they were concealed. The Ambassador demanded the Privilege that was due to his House by the Law of Nations, and which he would defend against any Violence with his own Life, and the Lives of all his Family; but finding the Officer resolute, and that he should be too weak in the Encounter, he desired respite till he might send to the Protector; which was granted to him. He complained of the Injury that was done him, and desired an Audience. *Cromwell* sent him word, "that a Gentleman had been murdered, " and many others hurt; and that Justice must be " satisfied; and therefore required that all the Persons " engaged might be delivered into the hands of his " Officer; without which, if he should withdraw " the Soldiers, and desist the requiring it, the People " would pull down the House, and execute Justice " themselves; of which he would not answer for the " effect. When this was done, he should have an " Audience, and all the satisfaction it was in his power " to give." The Ambassador desired "that his " Brother, and the rest, might remain in his House, " and he would be responsible, and produce them " before the Justice at the time should be assigned." But nothing would serve but the delivery of the Persons, and the People increased their cry "that they " would pull down the House." Whereupon the Ambassador was compelled to deliver up his Brother, and the rest of the Persons; who were all sent Prisoners to *Newgate*. The Ambassador used all the Instances

stances he could for his Brother, being willing to leave the rest to the mercy of the Law; but could receive no other answer but "that Justice must be done; and Justice was done to the full; for they were all brought to their Trial at the Sessions at *Newgate*, and there so many of them condemned to be hanged as were found guilty. The rest of those who were condemned, were executed at *Tiburn*; and *Don Pantaleon* himself was brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, as soon as Mr. *Gerard* was executed; where he lost his head with less grace than his Antagonist had done.

Though the Protector had nothing now to do but at home, *Holland* having accepted Peace upon his own terms, *Portugal* bought it at a full price, and upon a humble Submission, *Denmark* being contented with such an Alliance as he was pleased to make with them, and *France* and *Spain* contending, by their Ambassadors, which should render themselves most acceptable to him; *Scotland* lying under a heavy Yoke by the strict Government of *Monk*, who after the Peace with the *Dutch* was sent back to govern that Province, which was reduced under the Government of the *English* Laws, and their Kirk, and Kirkmen, entirely subdued to the obedience of the State with reference to Assemblies, or Synods; *Ireland* being confessedly subdued, and no opposition made to the Protector's Commands; so that Commissions were sent to divide all the Lands which had belonged to the *Irish*, or to those *English* who had adhered to the King, amongst those Adventurers who had supplied Money for the War, and the Soldiers and Officers; who were in great Arrears for their pay, and who received liberal

BOOK
XIV.

The condition
of the Protest-
ant in respect of
his Neighbours

The State of
Scotland
under him:

of Ireland.

BOOK Assignations in Lands; one whole Province being reserved for the *Irish* to be confined to; and all these Divisions made under the Government of his younger Son, *Harry Cromwell*, whom he sent thither as his Lieutenant of that Kingdom; who lived in the full Grandeur of the Office; notwithstanding all this *England* proved not yet so towardly as he expected. *Vane*, and the most considerable Men of the Independent Party, from the time he had turned them out of the Parliament, and so dissolved it, retired quietly to their Houses in the Country; poisoned the Affections of their Neighbours towards the Government; and lost nothing of their credit with the People; yet carried themselves so warily, that they did nothing to disturb the Peace of the Nation, or to give *Cromwell* any advantage against them upon which to call them in question.

Disputes
among his
own Party:

especially the
Levellers.

There were another less wary, because a more desperate Party, which were the Levellers; many whereof had been the most active Agitators in the Army, who had executed his Orders and Designs in incensing the Army against the Parliament, and had been at that time his sole Confidants and Bed-fellows; who, from the time that he assumed the Title of Protector, which to them was as odious as that of King, professed a mortal hatred to his Person; and he well knew both these People had too much credit in his Army, and with some principal Officers of it. Of these Men he stood in more fear than of all the King's Party; of which he had in truth very little apprehension, though he colored many of the preparations he made against the other, as if provided against the dangers threatened from them.

But the time drew near now, when he was obliged by the Instrument of Government, and upon his Oath, to call a Parliament, which seemed to him the only means left to compose the minds of the People to an entire submission to his Government. In order to this Meeting, though he did not observe the old course in sending Writs out to all the little Boroughs throughout *England*, which use to send Burgesses (by which Method some single Counties send more Members to the Parliament, than six other Counties do) he thought he took a more equal way by appointing more Knights for every Shire to be chosen; and fewer Burgesses; whereby the number of the whole was much lessened; and yet, the People being left to their own Election, it was not by him thought an ill temperament, and was then generally looked upon as an alteration fit to be more warrantably made, and in a better time. And so, upon the receipt of his Writs, Elections were made accordingly in all places; and such Persons, for the most part, chosen and returned, as were believed to be the best affected to the present Government, and to those who had any Authority in it; there being strict Order given, "that no Person
 " who had ever been against the Parliament during
 " the time of the Civil War, or the Sons of any such
 " Persons, should be capable of being chosen to sit in
 " that Parliament; nor were any such Persons made
 " choice of."

The day of their meeting was the third of *September* in the year 1654, within less than a year after he had been declared Protector; when, after they had been at a Sermon in the Abby at *Westminster*, they all came

BOOK

XIV.

He calls a
Parliament
after a new
Method.His Parliament
meets Sept. 3.
1654.

BOOK,

XIV.

The Substance
of his Speech
to them.

into the Painted-Chamber; where his Highness made them a large discourse; and told them, “ that that Parliament was such a Congregation of wise, prudent, and discreet Persons, that *England* had scarce seen the like: that he should forbear relating to them the Series of God’s Providence all along to that time, because it was well known to them; and only declare to them, that the erection of his present power was a suitable providence to the rest, by showing what a condition these Nations were in at its erection: that Then every Man’s heart was against another’s, every Man’s interest divided against another’s, and almost every thing grown Arbitrary: that there was grown up a general contempt of God and Christ, the Grace of God turned into wantonness, and his Spirit made a Cloak for all wickedness and prophaneness, nay, that the Axe was even laid to the root of the Ministry, and swarms of Jesuits were continually wasted over hither to consume, and destroy the Welfare of *England*: that the Nation was then likewise engaged in a deep War with *Portugal*, *Holland*, and *France*; so that the whole Nation was one heap of confusion; but that this present Government was calculated for the People’s Interest, let malignant Spirits say what they would; and that, with humbleness towards God, and modesty towards Them, he would recount somewhat in the behalf of the Government. First, it had endeavoured to reform the Law; it had put into the Seat of Justice Men of known integrity, and ability; it had settled a way for probation of Ministers to Preach the Gospel:

“ and besides all this, it had called a free Parliament: B O O K
 “ that, blessed be God, they that day saw a free Par- XIV.
 “ liament: then as to Wars, that a Peace was made
 “ with *Denmark, Sweden, the Dutch, and Portugal,*
 “ and was likewise near concluding with *France:* that
 “ these things were but entrances, and doors of hopes;
 “ but now he made no question to enable them to lay
 “ the top-Stone of the Work, recommending to them
 “ that maxim, that Peace, though it were made, was
 “ not to be trusted farther than it consisted with In-
 “ terest: that the great Work which now lay upon
 “ this Parliament, was, that the Government of
 “ *England* might be settled upon terms of Honor: that
 “ they would avoid confusions, lest Foreign States
 “ should take Advantage of them: that, as for himself,
 “ he did not speak like one that would be a Lord
 “ over them, but as one that would be a Fellow-Ser-
 “ vant in that great Affair:” and concluded, “ that
 “ they should go to their House, and there make
 “ choice of a Speaker:” which they presently did, and
 seemed very unanimous in their first Act, which was
 the making choice of *William Lenthall* to be their
 Speaker; which Agreement was upon very disagree-
 ing Principles. *Cromwell* having designed him, for
 luck’s sake, and being well acquainted with his temper,
 concluded, that he would be made a property in This,
 as well as he had been in the long Parliament, when he
 always complied with that Party that was most
 powerful. And the other Persons who meant nothing
 that *Cromwell* did, were well pleased, out of hope that
 the same Man’s being in the Chair might facilitate the
 renewing and reviving the former House; which

William
 Lenthall
 chosen their
 Speaker.

B O O K they looked upon as the true legitimate Parliament,
XIV. strangled by the Tyranny of *Cromwell*, and yet that it had life enough left in it.

Their Actions. *Lenthall* was no sooner in his Chair than it was proposed, "that they might in the first place consider by
 " what Authority they came thither, and whether
 " that which had Convened them, had a Lawful
 " power to that purpose." From which Subject the Protector's Creatures, and those of the Army, endeavoured to divert them by all the Arguments they could. Notwithstanding which, the current of the House insisted upon the first clearing that point, as the foundation, upon which all their Counsels must be built: and as many of the Members positively enough declared against that Power, so one of them, more confident than the rest, said plainly, "that they
 " might easily discern the Snares which were laid to
 " entrap the Privileges of the People; and for his
 " own part, as God had made him instrumental in
 " cutting down Tyranny in one Person, so now he
 " could not endure to see the Nation's Liberties
 " shackled by another, whose Right to the Govern-
 " ment could not be measured otherwise than by the
 " length of his Sword, which alone had emboldened
 " him to Command his Commanders." This Spirit prevailed so far, that, for eight days together, those of the Council of Officers, and others (who were called the Court-Party) could not divert the question from being put, "whether the Government should be by a
 " Protector and a Parliament," any other way than by lengthening the Debate, and then Adjourning the House when the question was ready to be put,

because they plainly saw that it would be carried in the Negative. H O O B

XIV.

The continuance of this warm Debate in the House, in which the Protector's own Person was not treated with much reverence, exceedingly perplexed him; and obliged him once more to try, what respect his Sovereign Presence would produce towards a better Composure. So he came again to the Painted-Chamber, and sent for his Parliament to come to him; and then told them, "that the great God of Heaven and Earth knew what Grief and Sorrow of heart it was to him, to find them falling into Heats and Divisions: that he would have them take notice of this, that the same Government made Him a Protector, that made Them a Parliament: that as They were intrusted in some things, so was He in others: that in the Government were certain fundamentals, which could not be altered; to wit, that the Government should be in a single Person and a Parliament; that Parliaments should not be perpetual, and always sitting; that the Militia should not be trusted into one Hand, or Power, but so as the Parliament might have a check on the Protector, and the Protector on the Parliament; that in matters of Religion there ought to be a Liberty of Conscience, and that Persecution in the Church was not to be Tolerated: These, he said, were unalterable fundamentals: as for other things in the Government, they were examinable and alterable as the State of Affairs did require: that, for his own part, he was even overwhelmed with Grief, to see that any of them should go about to overthrow what was settled, contrary

*Cromwell
speaks to them
in the Painted-
Chamber.*

BOOK

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“ to the Trust they had received from the People; which could not but bring very great inconveniences upon themselves and the Nation.” When he had made this frank Declaration unto them what they were to trust to, the better to confirm them in their duty, he had appointed a Guard to attend at the door of the Parliament-House, and there to restrain all Men from entering into the House who refused to subscribe this following Engagement: “ I do hereby promise and engage to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*; and shall not (according to the tenor of this Indenture, whereby I am returned to serve in Parliament) propose or give any Consent to alter the Government as it is settled in one Person and a Parliament.”

He admits none into the House but such as subscribed an Engagement to him.

This Engagement a considerable part of the Members utterly refused to sign, and called it a violation of the Privilege of Parliament, and an absolute depriving them of that freedom which was essential to it. So they were excluded, and restrained from entering into the House: and they who did subscribe it, and had thereupon Liberty to sit there, were yet so refractory to any Proposition that might settle him in the Government in the manner he desired it, that, after the five Months near spent in wrangling, and useless discourses (during which he was not to attempt the Dissolution of them. by his Instrument of Government) he took the first opportunity to dissolve them; and upon the two-and-twentieth of *January*, with some reproaches, he let them know he could do the business without them; and so dismissed them with

He dissolves them Jan. 22

much evidence of his Displeasure: and They again retired to their habitations, resolved to wait another opportunity of revenge, and in the mean time to give no evidence of their submitting to his Usurpation, by undertaking any Employment or Office under his Authority, He as carefully endeavouring and watching to find such an Advantage against them, as might make them liable to the penalty of the Laws. Yet even his weakness and impotency upon such a notorious Advantage, appeared in two very notable Instances, which happened about that time, in the Case of two Persons, whose Names were then much taken notice of upon the Stage of Affairs, *John Wildman*, and *John Lilburn*.

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An account of
John Wild-
man, and John
Lilburn,
Levellers.

The former had been bred a Scholar in the University of *Cambridge*; and being young, and of a pregnant Wit, in the beginning of the Rebellion meant to make his Fortune in the War; and chose to depend upon *Cromwell's* countenance and advice, when he was not above the degree of a Captain of a Troop of Horse himself, and was much esteemed and valued by him, and made an Officer; and was so active in contriving and fomenting Jealousies and Discontents, and so dexterous in composing, or improving any Disgusts, and so inspired with the Spirit of Praying and Preaching, when those gifts came into request, and became thriving Arts, that about the time when the King was taken from *Holmby*, and it was necessary that the Army should enter into Contests with the Parliament, *John Wildman* grew to be one of the principal Agitators, and was most relied upon by *Cromwell* to infuse those things into the minds of the Soldiers, and

John Wild-
man.

B O O K to conduct them in the managery of their Discontents, as might most advance those designs He then had; and quickly got the reputation of a Man of Parts; and, having a smooth Pen, drew many of the Papers which first kindled the Fire between the Parliament and the Army, that was not afterwards extinguished but in the ruin of Both. His Reputation in those Faculties made him quit the Army; where he was become a Major; and where he kept still a great Interest, and he betook himself to Civil Affairs, in the solicitation of Suits depending in the Parliament, or before Committees; where he had much credit with those who had most power to do Right or Wrong, and so made himself necessary to those who had need of such Protection from the Tyranny of the time. By these Arts he thrived, and got much more than he could have done in the Army, and kept, and increased his credit there, by the Interest he had in other places. When *Cromwell* declined the ways of establishing the Common-wealth, *Wildman*, amongst the rest, forsook him; and entered, warily, into any Counsels which were like to destroy him: and upon the dissolution of this last Parliament, having less of flegm, and so less patience than other Men, to expect another opportunity, and in the mean time to leave him to establish his Greatness, he did believe he should be able to make such a Schism in the Army, as would give an opportunity to other enraged Persons to take vengeance upon him.

Cromwell knew the Man, and his undermining faculties; knew he had some design in hand, but could not make any such discovery as might warrant

a public Prosecution; but appointed some trusty Spies (of which he had plenty) to watch him very narrowly, and, by being often with him, to find his Papers; the spreading whereof, he knew, would be the Preamble to any conspiracy of His. Shortly after the dissolution of that Parliament, these Instruments of *Cromwell's* surpris'd him in a room, where he thought he had been safe enough, as he was writing a Declaration; and seized upon the Papers; the title whereof was, "a Declaration, containing the reasons and motives which oblige Us to take up Arms against *Oliver Cromwell*;" and though it was not finished, yet in that that was done, there was all venom imaginable expressed against him, and a large and bitter Narration of all his foul breach of trust, and perjuries, enough to have expos'd any Man to the severest Judgment of that time; and as much as he could wish to discover against Him, or any Man whom he most desired to destroy. The Issue was, the Man was straitly imprison'd, and preparations made for his Trial, and towards his Execution, which all Men expected. But, whether *Cromwell* found that there were more engaged with him than could be brought to Justice, or were fit to be discovered (as many Men believed) or that *Wildman* oblig'd himself for the time to come not only to be quiet, but to be a Spy for him upon others (as others at that time suspected, and had reason for it afterwards) after a short time of Imprisonment, the Man was restored to his Liberty; and resort'd, with the same success and reputation, to his former course of Life; in which he thriv'd very notably.

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XIV.
John Lilburn.

The Case of *John Lilburn* was much more wonderful, and administered more occasion of discourse and observation. This Man, before the Troubles, was a poor Book-binder; and for procuring some seditious Pamphlets against the Church and State to be printed and dispersed, had been severely censured in the *Star-Chamber*, and received a sharp Castigation, which made him more obstinate and malicious against them; and, as he afterwards confessed, in the melancholy of his Imprisonment, and by reading the Book of Martyrs, he raised in himself a marvellous inclination and appetite to suffer in the defence or for the vindication of any oppressed Truth; and found himself very much confirmed in that spirit; and in that time diligently collected, and read all those Libels and Books, which had anciently, as well as lately been written against the Church: from whence, with the venom, he had likewise contracted the impudence and bitterness of their Style; and by practice, brought himself to the faculty of writing like them: and so, when that Licence broke in of printing all that malice and wit could suggest, he published some Pamphlets in his own Name, full of that confidence and virulency, which might asperse the Government most to the sense of the People, and to their humor. When the War begun, he put himself into the Army; and was taken Prisoner by the King's Forces in that Engagement at *Brentford*, shortly after the Battle of *Edgehill*; and being then a Man much known, and talked of for his qualities above-mentioned, he was not so well treated in Prison as was like to reconcile him; and being brought before the Chief-Justice, to be tried for Trea-

son by a Commission of Oyer and Terminer (in which method the King intended then to have proceeded against the Rebels which should be taken) he behaved himself with so great impudence, in extolling the power of the Parliament, that it was manifest he had an ambition to have been made a Martyr for that Cause. But as he was liberally supplied from his Friends at *London* (and the Parliament in exprefs terms declared, "that they would inflict punishment upon the Prisoners they had of the King's Party, in the same manner as *Lilburn* and the rest should suffer at *Oxford*") so he did find means to corrupt the Marshal who had the custody of him; and made his escape into the Parliament - Quarters; where he was received with public Joy, as a Champion that had defied the King in his own Court.

From this time he was entertained by *Cromwell* with great familiarity, and, in his contests with the Parliament, was of much use to him, and privacy with him. But he begun then to find him of so restless and unruly a Spirit, and to make those advances in Religion against the Presbyterians before he thought it seasonable, that he dispensed with his presence in the Army, where he was an Officer of Name, and made him reside in *London*, where he wished that temper should be improved. And when the Parliament was so much offended with his seditious humor, and the Pamphlets he published every day in Religion, with reflections upon their proceedings, that they resolved to prosecute him with great rigor (towards which the Assembly of Divines, which he had likewise provoked contributed their desire, and demand) *Cromwell* writ

B O O K a very passionate Letter to the Parliament, "that they
XIV. " would not so much discourage their Army, that
 " was fighting for them, as to censure an Officer of it
 " for his opinion in point of Conscience; for the
 " Liberty whereof, and to free themselves from the
 " shackles in which the Bishops would enslave them,
 " that Army had been principally raised." Upon
 which, all farther prosecution against *Lilburn* was
 declined at that time, though he declined not the
 farther provocation; and continued to make the
 Proceedings of the Parliament as odious as he could.
 But from the time that *Cromwell* had dispersed that
 Parliament, and was in effect in possession of the
 Sovereign Power, *Lilburn* withdrew his favor for
 him; and thought him now an Enemy worthy of his
 displeasure; and, both in discourses and writings, in
 Pamphlets and Invectives, loaded him with all the
 Aspersions of Hypocrisy, Lying, and Tyranny, and
 all other imputations and reproaches which either he
 deserved, or the malice or bitterness of the other's
 Nature could suggest to him, to make him the most
 universally odious that a faithless perjured Person
 could be.

Cromwell could bear ill language and reproaches
 with less disturbance, and concernment, than any Per-
 son in Authority had ever done: yet the prosecution
 this Man exercised him with, made him plainly dis-
 cern that it would be impossible to preserve his Dignity,
 or to have any security in the Government, whilst
 His Licence continued; and therefore, after he had
 set spies upon him to observe his Actions, and collect
 his Words, and upon advice with the Council at Law

of the State, was confidently informed, "that, as well
 " by the old established Laws, as by new Ordinances,
 " *Lilburn* was guilty of High-Treason, and had for-
 " feited his Life, if he were prosecuted in any Court
 " of Justice," he caused him to be sent to *Newgate*,
 and at the next Sessions to be indicted of High-Trea-
 son: all the Judges being present, and the Council at
 Law to enforce the Evidence, and all care being taken
 for the return of such a Jury as might be fit for the im-
 portance of the Case, *Lilburn* appeared undaunted,
 and with the confidence of a Man that was to play a
 Prize before the People for their own Liberty; he
 pleaded Not-guilty, and heard all the Charge and
 Evidence against him with patience enough, save that,
 by interrupting the Lawyers, sometimes, who prose-
 cuted him, and by sharp answers to some questions of
 the Judges, he showed that he had no reverence for
 their Persons, nor any submission to their Authority.
 The whole day was spent in his Trial; and when he
 came to make his Defence, he mingled so much Law
 in his discourse to invalidate their Authority, and to
 make it appear so Tyrannical, that neither their Lives,
 Liberties, nor Estates were in any degree secure, whilst
 that Usurpation was exercised; and answered all the
 matters objected against him with such an assurance,
 making them "to contain nothing of High-Treason,
 " and That to be a Government against which High-
 " Treason could not be committed;" and telling them
 " that all true-born *English* - Men were obliged to
 " oppose this Tyranny, as he had done purely for
 " Their sakes and that he had done it only for their
 " sakes, and to preserve them from being Slaves,

BOOK "contrary to his own profit and worldly Interest:"

XIV. He told them "how much he had been in *Cromwell's* Friendship: that he might have received any benefit, or preferment from him, if he would have sat still, and seen his Country enslaved; which because he would not do, he was brought hither to have his life taken from him by their Judgment; which he apprehended not:" he defended himself with that vigor, and charmed the Jury so powerfully, that, against all the direction and charge the Judges could give them (who assured them "that the words and actions fully proved against the Prisoner, were High-Treason by the Law; and that they were bound, by all the obligation of Conscience, to find him guilty") after no long consultation between themselves, they returned with their Verdict, "that he was Not-guilty:" nor could they be persuaded by the Judges to change or recede from their Verdict: which infinitely enraged and perplexed *Cromwell*; who looked upon it as a greater Defeat than the loss of a Battle would have been. And though *Lilburn* was thus acquitted in the year 1653, yet *Cromwell* would never suffer him to be set at Liberty, as by the Law he ought to have been, but sent him from Prison to Prison, and kept him enclosed there till He himself died. These two Instances of Persons not otherwise considerable, are thought pertinent to be inserted, as an evidence of the temper of the Nation; and how far the Spirits of that time were from paying a submission to that power, when no body had the courage to lift up their hands against it.

The King's

Whatever uneasiness and perplexity *Cromwell* found in

in his condition at home, the King found no benefit from it abroad, or from the Friendship, or the Indignation of other Princes; They had all the same terrible Apprehension of *Cromwell's* power as if he had been landed with an Army in any of their Dominions, and looked upon the King's condition as desperate, and not to be supported. The Treaty between *France* and *England* proceeded very fast; and every day produced fresh Evidence of the good Intelligence between *Cromwell* and the Cardinal. The Ships and Prisoners which had been taken when they went to relieve *Dunkirk*, and by the taking whereof *Dunkirk* had been lost, were now restored, and set at liberty; and such mutual Offices performed between them, as, with frequent evidences of Aversion from the King and his Interest, made it very manifest, to his Majesty, that his residence would not be suffered to continue longer in *France*, after the Alliance should be published with *Cromwell*; which was not yet perfected, by the Cardinal's blushing to consent to some Propositions, without which the other's fast Friendship was not to be obtained; and he was not willing that modesty should be conquered at once, though every body knew it would quickly be prostituted.

There could be no doubt but that the King was heartily weary of being in a place where he was so ill treated; where he lived so uncomfortably, and from whence he foresaw that he should soon be driven. But as he had no Money to enable him to remove, or to pay the Debts he owed there, so he knew not to what place to repair, where he might find a Civil Reception. *Holland* was bound not to admit him into

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condition
abroad.Cromwell's
Treaty with
France.The King
thinks of re-
treating out
of France;
but whither?
was the Ques-
tion.

B O O K their Dominions, and by their Example had showed
xiv. other Princes, and States, what conditions They must submit to who would be Allies to *Cromwell*. The King of *Spain* was at the same time contending with *France* for *Cromwell's* Friendship, and thought he had some Advantage with him by the Residence his Majesty had in *France*: so there could be no thought of repairing into *Flanders*, and that he could be admitted to stay there. The Protestants, in most places, expressed much more Inclination to his Rebels than to Him. The Roman-Catholics looked upon him as in so desperate a condition, that he would in a short time be necessitated to throw himself into their Arms by changing his Religion, without which they generally declared, "they would never give him the least Assistance." In this distress, his Majesty resumed the considerations he had formerly entered upon, of sending to the Diet; which was summoned by the Emperor to meet shortly at *Ratisbone*, to make choice of a King of the *Romans*. And *Germany* being then in Peace, the Emperor made little doubt of finding a concurrence in the choice of the King of *Hungary* his eldest Son to be made King of the *Romans*, and thereby to be sure to succeed him in the Empire. Our King had long designed to send the Lord *Wilmot* on that Errand, to try what the Emperor, and Princes of *Germany*, would do, in such a conjuncture, towards the uniting all other Princes with themselves, in undertaking a quarrel they were all concerned in, to restore a Prince so injured and oppressed by so odious a Rebellion; and in the mean time, of which there appeared to be more hope,

what contribution they would make towards his Support; and likewise, upon this occasion, what fit place might be found, in the nearest parts of *Germany*, for the King to repair to; where he might attend his better destiny.

It was most suitable to the occasion, and the necessity of the King's Condition, that this Affair should be despatched in as private a way as was possible, and with as little expense, it being impossible to send an Ambassador in such an Equipage, as, at such an illustrious Convention of all the Princes of the Empire, was necessary. *Wilmot* pressed very much for that Character, that he might the more easily accomplish his being made an Earl; for which he had obtained the King's promise in a fit season. And he took great pains to persuade the King, "that this was a proper season, and very much for the Advancement of his Service: but, that if he had the Title of an Earl, which would be looked upon as a high Qualification, he would not assume the Character of Ambassador, though he would carry such a Commission with him, but make all his Negotiations as a private Envoy;" of which he promised the King wonderful Effects, and pretended to have great assurance of Money, and of making Levies of Men for any Expedition. The King, rather to comply with the general expectation, and to do all that was in his power to do, than out of any hope of notable Advantage from this Agitation, was contented to make him Earl of *Rocheſter*; and gave him all such Commissions, and Credentials, as were necessary for the Employment; and sent him from *Paris* in the *Christmas*-time,

The King
makes *Wilmot*
Earl of

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Recheffer;
and sends
him to the
Diet at Ra-
tisbone.

The affairs
of Scotland
at this time.

that he might be at *Ratisbone* at the meeting of the Diet, which was to be in the beginning of *April* following; means having been found to procure so much Money as was necessary for that Journey, out of the Assignment that had been made to the King for his Support: of which there was a great Arrear due, and which the Cardinal caused at this time to be supplied, because he looked upon this sending to *Ratisbone* as a preparatory for the King's own remove.

Though *Scotland* was vanquished, and subdued, to that degree, that there was no Place nor Person who made the least show of opposing *Cromwell*; who, by the Administration of *Monk*, made the Yoke very grievous to the whole Nation; yet the Preachers kept their Pulpit-Licence; and, more for the affront that was offered to Presbytery, than the Conscience of what was due to Majesty, many of them presumed to pray for the King; and generally, though secretly, exasperated the minds of the People against the present Government. The High-landers by the Advantage of their Situation, and the hardiness of that People, made frequent Incursions in the night into the *English* Quarters; and killed many of their Soldiers, but stole more of their Horses: and where there was most appearance of Peace, and Subjection, if the Soldiers straggled in the night, or went single in the day, they were usually knocked on the head; and no Inquiry could discover the Malefactors.

Many Expresses were sent to the King, as well from those who were Prisoners in *England*, as from some Lords who were at liberty in *Scotland*, "that *Middleton* might be sent into the High-lands with

“ his Majesty’s Commission;” and in the mean time the Earl of *Glencarne*, a gallant Gentleman, offered, if he were Authorized by the King, to draw a Body of Horse and Foot together in the High-lands, and infect the Enemy, and be ready to submit to *Middleton*, as soon as he should arrive there with a supply of Arms and Ammunition. Accordingly the King had sent a Commission to the Earl of *Glencarne*; who behaved himself very worthily, and gave *Monk* some trouble. But he pressing very earnestly, that *Middleton* might be sent over to compose some Animosities, and Emulations, which were growing up to the breaking off that Union, without which nothing could succeed, his Majesty, about the time that the Earl of *Rochester* was despatched for *Ratisbone*, sent likewise *Middleton* into *Scotland*, with some few Officers of that Nation, and such a poor supply of Arms and Ammunition, as, by the Activity and industry of *Middleton*, could be got upon the credit and contribution of some Merchants and Officers in *Holland* of that Nation, who were willing to redeem their Country from the Slavery it was in. With this very slender Assistance he Transported himself in the Winter into the High-lands; where, to welcome him, he found the few, whom he looked to find in Arms, more broken with Faction amongst themselves than by the Enemy; nor was he able to reconcile them. But after *Glencarne* had delivered his thin unarmed Troops to *Middleton*, and condescended to fight a Duel with an Inferior Officer, who provoked him to it after he was out of his Command, whether he was troubled to have another Commander over him,

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The King sent
a Commission
to the Earl of
Glencarne.

And *Middleton* is sent
into *Scotland*.

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Glencarne
retired to his
own House;
and made his
Peace with
Monk.

who, upon the matter, had no other Men to Command but what were raised by him, though he had exceedingly pressed *Middleton's* being sent over to that purpose, or whether convinced of the impossibility of the Attempt, he retired first to his own House, and then made his Peace with *Monk*, that he might live quietly, and retained still his Affection and Fidelity to the King; which he made manifest afterwards in a more favorable conjuncture: and at the same time he excused himself to the King, for giving over an Enterprize which he was not able to prosecute, though *Middleton* sustained it a full year afterwards.

The truth is, the two Persons who were most concerned in that Expedition, had no degree of hope that it would be attended with any Success, the King, and *Middleton*; who had both seen an Army of that People, well provided with all things necessary, not able to do any thing where they fought upon terms more Advantageous. And how could those now, drawn together by chance, half-armed and undisciplined, be able to contend with Victorious Troops, which wanted nothing, and would hardly part with what they had got? But his Majesty could not refuse to give them leave to Attempt what they believed they could go through with; and *Middleton*, who had promised them to come to them, when he was assured he should be enabled to carry over with him two thousand Men, and good store of Arms, thought himself obliged to venture his Life with them who expected him, though he could carry no more with him than is mentioned; and by his behaviour there,

notwithstanding all discouragements, he manifested how much he would have done, if others had performed half their promises. BOOK
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It will not be amiss in this place to mention an Adventure that was made during his being in the High-lands, which deserves to be recorded for the honor of the Undertakers. There was attending upon the King a young Gentleman, one Mr. *Wogan*, a very handsome Person, of the age of three or four-and-twenty. This Gentleman had, when he was a youth of fifteen or sixteen years, been, by the corruption of some of his nearest Friends, engaged in the Parliament-Service against the King; where the eminency of his courage made him so much taken notice of, that he was of general estimation, and beloved by all; but so much in the friendship of *Ireton*, under whom he had the Command of a Troop of Horse, that no Man was so much in credit with him. By the time of the Murder of the King he was so much improved in Age and Understanding, that, by that horrible and impious Murder, and by the information and advice of sober Men in his conversation, he grew into so great a detestation of all that People, that he thought of nothing but to repair his own Reputation, by taking vengeance of those who had cozened and misled him: and in order thereunto, as soon as the Marquis of *Ormond* resumed the Government of *Ireland* again for the King (which was the only place then where any Arms were borne for his Majesty) Captain *Wogan* repaired thither to him through *Scotland*; and behaved himself with such signal Valor, that the Marquis of *Ormond* gave

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XIV. him the Command of his own Guards, and every Man the Testimony of deserving it. He came over with the Marquis into *France*; and being restless to be in Action, no sooner heard of *Middleton's* being arrived in *Scotland*, than he resolved to find himself with him; and immediately asked the King's leave not only for himself, but for as many of the young Men about the Court as he could persuade to go with him; declaring to his Majesty, "that he resolved " to pass through *England*." The King, who had much Grace for him, dissuaded him from the Undertaking, for the difficulty and danger of it, and denied to give him leave. But neither his Majesty, nor the Marquis of *Ormond*, could divert him; and his importunity continuing, he was left to follow his Inclinations: and there was no News so much talked of in the Court, as that Captain *Wogan* would go into *England*, and from thence march into *Scotland* to General *Middleton*; and many young Gentlemen, and others, who were in *Paris*, listed themselves with him for the Expedition. He went then to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; who, during the time of the King's stay in *France*, executed the Office of Secretary of State, to desire the despatch of such Passes, Letters, and Commissions, as were necessary for the Affair he had in hand. The Chancellor had much kindness from him, and having heard of his design by the common talk of the Court, and from the free discourses of some of those who resolved to go with him, represented "the danger of the enterprise to " himself, and the dishonor that would reflect upon " the King, for suffering Men under his Pass, and

“ with his Commission, to expose themselves to inevitable ruin: that it was now the discourse of the Town, and would without doubt be known in *England* and to *Cromwell*, before he and his Friends could get thither, so that it was likely they would be apprehended the first minute they set their foot on Shore; and how much his own particular Person was more liable to danger than other Men’s he knew well;” and, upon the whole matter, very earnestly dissuaded him from proceeding farther.

He answered most of the particular considerations with contempt of the danger, and confidence of going through with it, but with no kind of reason (a talent that did not then abound in him) to make it appear probable. Whereupon the Chancellor expressly refused to make his Despatches, till he could speak with the King; “ with whom, he said, he would do the best he could to persuade his Majesty to hinder his Journey;” with which the Captain was provoked to so great passion, that he broke into tears, and besought him not to dissuade the King; and seemed so much transported with the resolution of the Adventure, as if he would not outlive the disappointment. This passion so far prevailed with the King, that he caused all his Despatches to be made, and delivered to him. And the very next day He and his Companions, being seven or eight in number, went out of *Paris* together, and took Post for *Calais*.

They landed at *Dover*, continued their Journey to *London*, and walked the Town; stayed there above three Weeks, till they had bought Horses, which

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B O O K they quartered at Common Inns, and lifted Men
XIV. enough of their Friends and Acquaintance to prosecute their purpose. And then they appointed their Rendezvous at *Barnet*, marched out of *London* as *Cromwell's* Soldiers, and from *Barnet* were full fourscore Horse well Armed, and appointed, and Quartered that Night at *St. Albans*; and from thence, by easy Journies, but out of the Common Roads, marched safely into *Scotland*; beat up some Quarters which lay in their way, and without any misadventure joined *Middleton* in the High-lands; where poor *Wogan*, after many brave Actions performed there, received upon a Party an ordinary flesh-wound; which, for want of a good Surgeon proved mortal to him, to the very great grief of *Middleton*, and all who knew him. Many of the Troopers, when they could stay no longer there, found their way again through *England*, and returned to the King.

In the distress which the King suffered during his abode in *France*, the Chancellor of the Exchequer's part was the most uneasy and grievous. For though all who were angry with Him, were angry with the Marquis of *Ormond*, who lived in great Friendship with him, and was in the same trust with the King in all his Counsels which were reserved from others; yet the Marquis' Quality, and the great Services he had performed, and the great sufferings he underwent for the Crown, made him above all their exceptions: and they believed his aversion from all their Devices to make marriages, and to traffick in Religion, proceeded most from the credit the other had with him. And the Queen's displeasure grew so

notorious against the Chancellor, that after he found by degrees that she would not speak to him, nor take any notice of him when she saw him, he forbore at last coming in her presence; and for many Months did not see her face, though he had the honor to lodge in the same House, the Palace Royal, where both their Majesties kept their Courts, which encouraged all who desired to ingratiate themselves with her Majesty, to express a great prejudice to the Chancellor, at least to withdraw from his conversation: and the Queen was not reserved in declaring, that she did exceedingly desire to remove him from the King; which nothing kept him from desiring also, in so uncomfortable a condition, but the conscience of his duty, and the confidence his Majesty had in his fidelity.

This disinclination towards him produced, at one and the same time, a contrivance of an odd Nature, and a Union between two seemingly irreconcilable Factions, the Papists and the Presbyterians; which was discovered to the King by a false brother, before the Chancellor had any intimation of it. The Lord *Balcarris*, with Dr. *Frazier*, and some other Scots about the Court, thought themselves enough qualified to undertake in the name of all the Presbyterians; and caused a Petition to be prepared, in which they set out, "that the Presbyterian Party had great Affections to serve his Majesty, and much power to do it; and that they had many Propositions, and Advices to offer to his Majesty, for the Advancement thereof: but that they were discouraged, and hindered from offering the same, by rea-

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The Queen's displeasure against the Chancellor of the Exchequer in France.

A Petition intended of the Scottish Presbyterians by Balcarris and Frazier, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer might be removed.

B O O K

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“son that his Majesty intrusted his whole Affairs to
 “the Chancellor of the Exchequer; who was an old
 “known and declared Enemy to all their Party; in
 “whom they could repose no trust: and therefore
 “they besought his Majesty, that He might be re-
 “moved from his Council, at least not be suffered
 “to be privy to any thing that should be proposed
 “by Them; and they should then make it appear
 “how ready, and how able they were in a very short
 “time to advance his Majesty’s Affairs.”

And of the
 Roman-Ca-
 tholics also,
 against him:

Another Petition was prepared in the name of his
 Roman-Catholic Subjects; which said, “that all his
 “Majesty’s Party which had adhered to him, were
 “now totally suppressed; and had, for the most
 “part, compounded with his Enemies, and submit-
 “ted to their Government: that the Church-Lands
 “were all sold, and the Bishops dead, except very
 “few, who durst not exercise their Function: so
 “that he could expect no more aid from any who
 “were concerned to support the Government of the
 “Church as it had been formerly established: that
 “by the defeat of Duke *Hamilton’s* Party first, and
 “then by his Majesty’s ill success at *Worcester*, and
 “the total reduction of the Kingdom of *Scotland*
 “afterwards by *Cromwell*, his Majesty might con-
 “clude what greater aid he was to expect from the
 “Presbyterian Party. Nothing therefore remained
 “to him of hope for his Restoration, but from the
 “affection of his Roman-Catholic Subjects; who,
 “as they would never be wanting as to their Persons,
 “and their Estates which were left, so they had hope
 “to draw from the Catholic Princes, and the Pope

“ himself, such considerable assistance both in Men B O O K
 “ and Money, that his Majesty should owe his Ref- XIV.
 “ titution, under the Blessing of God, to the sole
 “ power and assistance of the Catholics. But they
 “ had great reason to fear, that all these hopes would
 “ be obstructed and rendered of no use, not only
 “ by there being no Person about his Majesty in
 “ whom the Catholics could have any confidence,
 “ but by reason that the Person most trusted by him,
 “ and through whose hands all Letters and Despatches
 “ must pass, is a known Enemy to all Catholics;
 “ and therefore they besought his Majesty, that that
 “ Person, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, might
 “ be removed from him; whereupon he should find
 “ great benefit to accrue to his Service.” It was con-
 cluded amongst them, that when these two Petitions
 should be weighed and considered, the Queen would
 easily convince his Majesty, that a Person who was
 so odious to all the Roman-Catholics, from whose
 Affections his Majesty had most reason to promise
 himself relief, and to all the Protestants who could
 contribute to his assistance or subsistence, could not
 be fit to be continued in any Trust about him.

When matters were thus adjusted, which were the
 longer in preparation, because the Persons concerned
 could not, without suspicion and scandal, meet toge-
 ther, but were to be treated with by Persons mutually
 employed; one Mr. *Walsingham*, a Person very well
 known to all Men who at that time knew the Palace
 Royal, who had been employed in the affair, came to
 the King, and whether out of ingenuity, and dislike of
 so foul a combination, or as he thought the discovery

The design
 discovered by
 one Mr.
Walsingham,
 to the
 King: which
 quashed them
 both.

BOOK would be grateful to his Majesty, informed him of
XIV. the whole Intrigue, and gave a Copy of the Petitions to the King; who showed them to the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and informed them of the whole design. And from this time his Majesty made himself very merry with it, and spoke of it sometimes at dinner, when the Queen was present; and asked pleasantly, “when the two “ Petitions would be brought against the Chancellor “ of the Exchequer?” which being quickly known to some of the Persons engaged in the prosecution, they gave it over, and thought not fit to proceed any farther in it; though both Parties continued their implacable malice towards him, nor did he find any ease or quiet by their giving over that design, their Animosities against him still breaking out one after another, as long as the King remained in *France*; the Queen taking all occasions to complain to the Queen-Regent of the King’s unkindness, that she might impute all that she disliked to the Chancellor; and the Queen-Mother of *France* was like to be very tender in a point that so much concerned herself, that any Man should dare to interpose between the Mother and the Son.

There was an accident fell out, that administered some argument to make those Complaints appear more reasonable. The Cardinal *de Retz* had always expressed great civilities towards the King, and a desire to serve him; and upon some occasional conference between them, the Cardinal asked the King, “whether “ he had made any attempt to draw any Assistance “ from the Pope, and whether he thought that

A discourse of
 the King’s
 with Cardinal
 de Retz.

“ nothing might be done that way to his advantage ?” The King told him, “ nothing had been attempted that way ; and that He was better able to judge, whether the Pope was like to do any thing for a Man of His Faith.” The Cardinal smiling, said, “ he had no thought of speaking of his Faith ;” yet in short, he spoke to him like a wise and honest Man ; “ that if any Overtures were made him of the change of his Religion, he must tell his Majesty, it becomes him as a Cardinal to wish his Majesty a Catholic for the saving his Soul ; but he must declare too, that if he did change his Religion, he would never be restored to his Kingdoms.” But he said, “ he did believe” (though the Pope was old, and much decayed in his generosity ; for *Innocent* the 10th was then living) “ that if some proper Application was made to the Princes of *Italy*, and to the Pope himself, though there would not be gotten wherewithal to raise and maintain Armies, there might be somewhat considerable obtained for his more pleasant Support, wherever he should chuse to reside.” He said, “ he had himself some Alliance with the Great-Duke, and interest in other Courts, and in *Rome* itself, and if his Majesty would give him leave, and trust his discretion, he would write in such a manner in his own Name to some of his Friends, as should not be of any prejudice to his Majesty if it brought him no convenience.” The King had reason to acknowledge the obligation, and to leave it to his own wisdom, what he would do. In the conclusion of the discourse, the Cardinal asked his Majesty a question or two of matter of fact, which

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The Cardinal
de Retz sent to
the Bastile.

he could not answer; but told him, " he would give " a punctual information of it the next day in a Letter:" which the Cardinal desired might be as soon as his Majesty thought fit, because he would, upon the receipt of it make his despatches into *Italy*. The particular things being out of the King's Memory, as soon as he returned, he asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer concerning them; and having received a punctual Account from him, his Majesty writ a Letter the next day to the Cardinal, and gave him information as to those particulars. Within very few days after this, the Cardinal coming one day to the *Louvre* to see the Queen-Mother, he was arrested by the Captain of the Guard, and sent Prisoner to the *Bastile*; and in one of his Pockets, which they searched, that Letter the King had sent to him was found, and delivered to the Queen-Regent; who presently imparted it to the Queen of *England*; and after they had made themselves merry with some improprieties in the *French*, the King having, for the secrecy, not consulted with any body, they discovered some purpose of applying to the Pope, and to other Catholic Princes; and that his Majesty should enter upon any such Counsel, without first consulting with the Queen his Mother, could proceed only from the instigation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Her Majesty, with a very great proportion of sharpness, reproached the King for his Neglect, and gave him his Letter. The King was exceedingly sensible of the little respect the Queen-Mother had showed towards him, in communicating his Letter
in

in that manner to his Mother; and expostulated with her for it; and took that occasion to enlarge more upon the injustice of his Mother's complaints, than he had ever done. And from that time the Queen-Mother who was in truth a very worthy Lady, showed much more kindness to the King. And a little time after, there being a Masque at the Court that the King liked very well, he persuaded the Chancellor to see it; and vouchsafed, the next Night, to carry him thither himself, and to place the Marquis of *Ormond* and Him next the Seat where all their Majesties were to sit. And when they entered, the Queen-Regent asked, "who that fat Man was who sat by the Marquis of *Ormond*?" The King told her aloud, "that was the naughty Man who did all the Mischief, and set him against his Mother:" at which the Queen herself was little less disordered than the Chancellor was: But they within hearing laughed so much, that the Queen was not displeased; and somewhat was spoken to his Advantage, whom few thought to deserve the Reproach.

At this time the King was informed by the *French* Court, "that Prince *Rupert*, who had been so long absent, having gone with the Fleet from *Holland* before the Murder of the late King, and had not been heard of in some years, was now upon the Coast of *France*, and soon after at *Nantes* in the Province of *Britain*, with the *Swallow*, a Ship of the King's, and with three or four other Ships; and that the *Constant Reformation*, another Ship of the King's, in which Prince *Maurice* had been; was cast away in the *Indies* near two years before; and

BOOK XIV. “ that Prince *Rupert* himself was returned with very
 “ ill health.” The King sent presently to welcome
 him, and to invite him to *Paris* to attend his health;
 and his Majesty presumed that, by the Arrival of this
 Fleet, which he thought must be very rich, he should
 receive some Money, that would enable him to re-
 move out of *France*; of which He was as weary as
 it was of Him.

Great Expectation was raised in the *English* Court,
 that there would be some notable change upon the
 Arrival of this Prince; and though he had professed
 much kindness to the Chancellor of the Exchequer,
 when he parted from *Holland*, yet there was hope
 that he would not appear now his Friend, the rather
 for that he had left *Ireland* with some declared un-
 kindness towards the Marquis of *Ormond*. And all
 Men knew that the Attorney-General, who was un-
 satisfied with every body, would have most influence
 upon that Prince; and that his Highness could not be
 without credit enough with the King to introduce
 him into business; which they thought would at least
 lessen the Chancellor. In order to which, it was no
 sooner known that Prince *Rupert* was landed in *France*,
 but the Lord *Jermyn* visited, and made great court
 to Sir *Edward Herbert*; between whom and him there
 had been greater show of animosity than between any
 two of the Nation who were beyond the Seas, they
 having for some years seldom spoken to, never well
 of, each other. And *Herbert*, who was of a rough
 and proud nature, had declared publicly, “ that he
 “ would have no Friendship with any Man who be-
 “ lieved the other to be an honest Man.” Between

these two a great friendship is suddenly made; and the Attorney is every day with the Queen, who had showed a greater Aversion from him than from any Man, not only upon the business of the Duke of York but upon many other Occasions. But now she commended him to the King, "as a wise Man, of great Experience, and of great Interest in *England*."

From the death of Sir *Richard Lane*, who had been Keeper of the Great-Seal under his late Majesty, there had not only been no Officer in that place, but, from the defeat at *Worcester*, the King had been without any Great-Seal, it having been there lost. But he had lately employed a Graver to prepare a Great-Seal; which he kept himself, not intending to confer that Office, whilst he remained abroad. But now the Queen pressed the King very earnestly, to make the Attorney-General Lord Keeper of the Great-Seal; which was a promotion very natural, Men ordinarily rising from the one Office to the other. The King knew the Man very well, and had neither esteem nor kindness for him; yet he well foresaw, that when Prince *Rupert* came to him, he should be pressed both by his Mother and Him so importunately, that he should not with any ease be able to refuse it. Then he believed that, if the Man himself were in good humor, he would be of great use in composing any ill humor that should arise in the Prince; to which it was apprehended he might be apt to be inclined. And therefore his Majesty thought it best (since no body dissuaded him from the Thing) to oblige him frankly himself before the Prince came; and so called him to his Council, and made him Lord Keeper of

The Queens
Mother moves
the King to
make Herbert
Lord Keeper;
and he is
made.

B O O K the Great-Seal; with which he seemed wonderfully
XIV. delighted; and for some time lived well towards every Body; though, as to any thing of business, he appeared only in his old excellent faculty of raising doubts, and objecting against any thing that was proposed, and proposing nothing himself; which was a temper of Understanding he could not rectify, and, in the present State of Affairs, did less mischief than it would have done in a time when any thing was to have been done.

Prince Rupert
 gives an ill
 Account of his
 Fleet.

Before the Prince came to *Paris* he gave the King such account, as made it evident that his Majesty was to expect no Money: "that what Treasure had been gotten together, which, he confessed, had amounted to great value, had been all lost in the Ship in which himself was" (that sprung a plank in the *Indies*, when his Highness was miraculously preserved) "and, in the Boat, carried to another Ship, when that the *Antelope*, with all the Men, and all that had been gotten, sunk in the Sea; and that much of the other purchase had been likewise cast away in the Ship in which his Brother perished; which was after his own misfortune:" so that all that was brought into *Nantes*, would scarce pay off the Seamen, and discharge some debts at *Toulon*, which the Prince had contracted at his former being there, during the time that the King had been in *Holland*: And "that the Ships were all so eaten with worms, even the *Swallow* itself, that there was no possibility of setting them out again to Sea." This was all the Account the King could receive of that whole Affair, when the Prince himself came to *Paris*;

with which though the King was not satisfied, yet he knew not how to remedy it, the Prince taking it very ill that any Account should be required of him; and the Keeper quickly persuaded his Highness, that it was only the Chancellor of the Exchequer's influence, that disposed the King with so much strictness to examine his Account.

There was another design now set on foot, by which they concluded they should sufficiently mortify the Chancellor; who, they thought, had still too much credit with his Master. When the King went into *Scotland*, Mr. *Robert Long*, who hath been mentioned before, was Secretary of State; who, having been always a creature of the Queen's, and dependent upon the Lord *Jermyn*, had so behaved himself towards them, during his short stay in *Scotland* (for he was one of those who was removed from the King there, and sent out of that Kingdom) that when his Majesty returned from *Worcester* to *Paris*, they would by no means suffer that he should wait upon his Majesty; and accused him of much breach of trust, and dishonesty, and, amongst the rest, that he should say, which could be proved, "that it was impossible
" for any Man to serve the King honestly, and to
" preserve the good opinion of the Queen, and keep
" the Lord *Jermyn's* favor." The truth is, that Gentleman had not the good fortune to be generally well thought of, and the King did not believe him faultless; and therefore was contented to satisfy his Mother, and would not permit him to execute his Office, or to attend in his Councils. Whereupon he left the Court, and lived privately at *Rouen*; which

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An Affair concerning Mr. Long; who petitions the King to be restored to the Secretary's Place:

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was the reason that the Chancellor had been commanded to execute that place, which entitled him to so much trouble. Upon this conjunction between the Lord *Jermyn* and the Keeper, the last of whom had in all times inveighed against Mr. *Long's* want of fidelity, they agreed, that there could not be a better expedient found out to lessen the Chancellor's credit, than by restoring *Long* to the execution of the Secretary's Function. Whereupon they sent for him, and advised him to prepare a Petition to the King. "that he might be again restored to his Office and Attendance, or that he might be charged with his Crimes, and be farther punished, if he did not clear himself, and appear innocent." This Petition was presented to the King, when he was in Council, by the Queen; who came thither only for that purpose and desired that it might be read; which being done the King was surpris'd, having not in the least received any notice of it; and said, "that her Majesty was the principal cause that induced his Majesty to remove him from his place, and that she then believed that he was not fit for the Trust." She said, "she had now a better opinion of him, and that she had been misinformed." The King thought it unfit to receive a Person into so near a Trust, against whose fidelity there had been such public exceptions; and his Majesty knew that few of his Friends in *England* would correspond with him; and therefore would not be persuaded to restore him. This was again put all upon the Chancellor's Account, and the influence He had upon the King.

is refused by
the King.

Whereupon
Mr. Long

Thereupon Mr. *Long* accused the Chancellor of

having betrayed the King; and undertook to prove that he had been over in *England*, and had private conference with *Cromwell*: which was an aspersion so impossible, that every body laughed at it: yet because he undertook to prove it, the Chancellor pressed "that a day might be appointed for him to produce his proof:" and at that day, the Queen came again to the Council, that she might be present at the Charge. There Mr. *Long* produced *Maffonet*, a Man who had served him, and afterwards been an Under-Clerk for writing Letters and Commissions, during the time of the King's being in *Scotland*, and had been taken Prisoner at *Worcester*; and, being released with the rest of the King's Servants, had been employed, from the time of the King's return, in the same Service under the Chancellor; the Man having, before the Troubles, taught the King, and the Duke of *York*, and the rest of the King's Children to write, being indeed the best Writer, for the fairness of the hand, of any Man in that time.

Maffonet said, "that after his release from his Imprisonment, and whilst he staid in *London*, he spoke with a Maid, who had formerly served him, that knew the Chancellor very well, and who assured him, that one evening she had seen the Chancellor go into *Cromwell's* Chamber at *White-Hall*; and after he had been shut up with him some hours, she saw him conducted out again." And Mr. *Long* desired time, that he might send over for this Woman, who should appear and justify it. To this impossible discourse, the Chancellor said, "he would make no other defence, than that there were Persons then

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accuses the Chancellor of the Exchequer of his having been in *England*, and conversed with *Cromwell*.

The business heard in Council: *Maffonet* is produced as a hearer by Witness of it.

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" in the Town, who, he was confident, would avow
 " that they had seen him once every day, from the time
 " he returned from *Spain* to the day on which he at-
 " tended his Majesty at *Paris*;" as indeed there where;
 and when he had said so he offered to go out of the room;
 which the King would not have him to do. But he told
 his Majesty, "that it was the course; and that he ought
 " not to be present at the Debate that was to concern
 " himself;" and the Keeper, with some warmth, said
 " it was true;" and so he retired to his own Chamber.
 The Lord *Jermyn*, as soon as he was gone, said,
 " he never thought the Accusation had any thing of
 " probability in it; and that he believed the Chan-
 " cellor a very honest Man; but the use that he
 " thought ought to be made of this Calumny, was,
 " that it appeared that an honest and innocent Man
 " might be calumniated, as he thought Mr. *Long* had
 " likewise been; and therefore they ought both to
 " be cleared." The Keeper said, " he saw not ground
 " enough to condemn the Chancellor; but he saw no
 " cause neither to declare him innocent: that there
 " was one Witness which declared only what he had
 " heard; but that he undertook also to produce the
 " Witness herself if he might have time; which in
 " justice could not be denied; and therefore he pro-
 " posed, that a competent time might be given to
 " Mr. *Long* to make out his proof; and that in the
 " mean time the Chancellor might not repair to the
 " Council:" with which Proposition the King was so
 offended, that, with much warmth, he said, " he dis-
 " cerned well the design; and that it was so false
 " and wicked a Charge, that, if he had no other

“ exception against Mr. *Long* than this foul and foolish Accusation, it was cause enough never to trust him.” And therefore he presently sent for the Chancellor, and as soon as he came in, commanded him to sit in his place; and told him, “ he was sorry he was not in a condition to do him more Justice than to declare him innocent;” which he did do, and commanded the Clerk of the Council to draw up a full Order for his Vindication, which his Majesty himself would sign.

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The King acquits the Chancellor.

The Keeper could not contain himself from appearing very much troubled; and said, “ if what he heard from a Person of honor, who, he thought, would justify it, were true, the Chancellor had aspersed the King in such a manner, and so much reviled his Majesty in point of his honor, that he was not fit to sit there.” The Chancellor was wonderfully surpris'd with the Charge; and humbly besought his Majesty, “ that the Lord Keeper might produce his Author, or be looked upon as the Contriver of the Scandal.” The Keeper answered, “ that if his Majesty would appoint an hour the next day for the Council to meet, he would produce the Person, who, he was confident, would justify all he had said.”

The Keeper accuses the Chancellor of the Exchequer of having spoken ill of the King.

The next day, the King being sat in Council, the Keeper desired that the Lord *Gerard* might be called in; who presently appeared; and being asked, “ whether he had at any time heard the Chancellor of the Exchequer speak ill of the King?” he answered, Yes. And thereupon made a relation of a conference that had passed between the Chancellor and Him a

The Lord Gerard produced to prove it.

BOOK year before, when the King lay at *Chantilly*; " that one
XIV. " day, after dinner, the King took the Air, and being
" in the Field, his Majesty alighted out of his Coach,
" and took his Horse, with other of the Lords, to ride
" into the next Field to see a Dog set a Partridge;
" and that he, the Lord *Gerard* and the Chancellor
" remained in the Coach, when he entered into dis-
" course of the King's condition; and said, that he
" thought his Majesty was not active enough, nor
" did think of his business; and, that the Chancellor,
" who was known to have credit with him, ought
" to advise him to be active, for his Honor and his
" Interest; otherwise, his Friends would fall from
" him. But, that it was generally believed, that he,
" the Chancellor, had no mind that his Majesty
" should put himself into Action, but was rather for
" sitting still; and therefore it concerned him, for
" his own justification, to persuade the King to be
" Active, and to leave *France*, where he could not
" but observe that every body was weary of him,
" To all which the Chancellor took great pains to
" purge himself from being in the fault; and said,
" that no body could think that he could take de-
" light to stay in a place where he was so ill used;
" but laid all the fault upon the King; who, he said,
" was indisposed to business, and took too much
" delight in pleasures, and did not love to take pains;
" for which he was heartily sorry, but could not
" help it; which *Gerard* said, he thought was a great
" reproach and scandal upon the King, from a Man
" so obliged and trusted, who ought not to asperse
" his Master in that manner."

The Chancellor was a little out of countenance; and said, “ he did not expect that Accusation from
 “ any body, less that the Lord *Gerard* should discover
 “ any private discourse that had passed a year before
 “ between them two, and which appeared by his
 “ relation to have been introduced by himself, and
 “ by his own freedom: that whosoever believed that
 “ he had a mind to traduce the King, would never
 “ believe that he would have chosen the Lord *Gerard*,
 “ who was known to be none of his Friends, to have
 “ communicated it to.” He said, “ he did very well
 “ remember, that the Lord *Gerard* did, at that time
 “ when they two remained alone in the Coach, very
 “ passionately censure the King’s not being Active,
 “ and blamed him, the Chancellor, for not persuad-
 “ ing his Majesty to put himself into Action; and
 “ that He was generally believed to be in the fault :
 “ upon which he had asked him, what he did intend
 “ by being Active, and what that Action was,
 “ and where, to which he wished the King should be
 “ persuaded? He answered, with an increase of
 “ passion, and addition of Oaths, that rather than sit
 “ still in *France*, his Majesty ought to go to every
 “ Court in *Christendom*; that instead of sending an
 “ Ambassador who was not fit for any business, he
 “ should have gone himself to the Diet at *Ratisbone*,
 “ and solicited his own business: which would have
 “ been more effectual; and that, if he could not
 “ find any other way to put himself into Action, he
 “ ought to go into the High-lands of *Scotland* to
 “ *Middleton*, and there try his Fortune.” To all which
 the Chancellor said, he did remember that he replied,

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The Chan-
cellor's De-
fence

BOOK XIV. " he believed the King was indisposed to any of
" that Action he proposed : and though he did not
" believe, that he had used those Expressions, of the
" King's delighting in pleasures, and not loving busi-
" ness so well as he ought to do, if the Lord *Gerard*
" would positively affirm he had, he would rather
" confess it, and submit himself to his Majesty's
" judgment, if he thought such words proceeded
" from any malice in his heart towards him, than,
" by denying it, continue the Debate:" And then
he offered to retire ; which the King forbid him to
do ; upon which the Keeper was very Angry ; and
said, " the words amounted to an Offence of a high
" Nature ; and that he was sorry his Majesty was
" no more sensible of them : that for any Man, espe-
" cially a Counsellor, and a Man in so near trust,
" to accuse his Master of not loving his business,
" and being inclined to pleasures, was to do all he
" could to persuade all Men to forsake him ;" and
proceeding with his usual warmth and positiveness,
the King interrupted him ; and said, " he did really
" believe the Chancellor had used those very words,
" because he had often said That, and much more
" to himself ; which he had never taken ill : that he
" did really believe that he was himself in fault, and
" did not enough delight in his business : which was
" not very pleasant ; but he did not know that such
" putting himself into Action, which was the com-
" mon word, as the Lord *Gerard* advised, was like
" to be attended with those benefits, which, he
" was confident, he wished." In fine, he declared,
" he was very well satisfied in the Chancellor's Affec-

* tion, and took nothing ill that he had said; and * directed the Clerk of the Council to enter such his * Majesty's Declaration in his Book;" with which both the Keeper and the Lord *Gerard* were very ill satisfied. But from that time there were no farther public attempts against the Chancellor, during the time of his Majesty's abode in *France*. But it may not be unseasonable to insert in this place, that after the King's return into *England*, there came the Woman to the Chancellor, who had been carried over to *Rouen* by *Maffonet*, and importuned by Mr. *Long* to testify that she had seen the Chancellor with *Cromwell*; for which she should have a present liberal reward in Money from him, and a good Service at *Paris*; which when the Woman refused to do, he gave her Money for her Journey back, and so she returned: of which the Chancellor informed the King. But Mr. *Long* himself coming at the same time to him, and making great Acknowledgments, and asking pardon, the Chancellor frankly remitted the injury; which Mr. *Long* seemed to acknowledge with great gratitude ever after.

The King wearied with these domestic Vexations, as well as with the uneasiness of his Entertainment, and the change he every day discovered in the countenance of the *French* Court to him, grew very impatient to leave *France*; and though he was totally disappointed of the expectation he had to receive Money by the Return of Prince *Rupert* with that Fleet, he hoped that when the Prizes should be sold, and all the Seamen discharged, and Prince *Rupert* be satisfied in his demands, which were very large,

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B O O K there would be still left the Ships, and Ordnance,
XIV. and Tackling, which (though they required great Charge to be fitted out again to Sea, yet) if sold, he presumed, would yield a good Sum of Money to enable him to remove, and support him some time after he was removed; for there were, besides the Ship itself, fifty good Brass-Guns on board the *Swallow*, which were very valuable. His Majesty therefore writ to Prince *Rupert* (who was returned to *Nantes* to discharge some Seamen, who still remained, and to sell the rest of the Prizes) "that he should find some good Chapmen to buy the Ships, and Ordnance, and Tackle, at the value they were worth:" which was no sooner known at *Nantes*, than there appeared Chapmen enough, besides the Marechal of *Melleray*, who being Governor of that place, and of the Province, had much Money always by him to lay out on such occasions. And the Prince writ the King word, "that he had then a good Chapman, who would pay well for the Brass-Cannon; and that he should put off all the rest at good rates." But he writ again the next Week, "that, when he had even finished the contract for the Brass-Cannon, there came an Order from the Court, that no Man should presume to buy the Brass-Cannon, and to Marechal *Melleray* to take care that they were not carried out of that Port."

The Prince apprehended, that this unexpected restraint proceeded from some claim and demand from *Cromwell*; and then expected, that it would likewise relate to the *Swallow* itself, if not to the other Ships; and the Marechal contributed to, and cherished this

Jealousy, that the better Markets might be made of all the rest; himself being always a sharer with the Merchants, who made any purchases of that kind: as he had, from the time that his Highness first came into that Port, always insinuated into him in confidence, and under great good will and trust, “ that “ he should use all expedition in the sale of the Prizes, “ left either *Cromwell* should demand the whole “ (which he much doubted) or that the Merchants, “ Owners of the Goods, should upon the hearing “ where they were, send and arrest the said Ships, “ and Goods, and demand restitution to be made of “ them in a course of Justice;” in either of which cases, he said, “ he did not know, considering how “ things stood with *England*, what the Court would “ determine: though, he promised, he would extend “ his Authority to serve the Prince, as far as he could “ with his own safety; and defer the publishing and “ execution of any Orders he should receive, till the “ Prince might facilitate the despatch:” and by this kind Advice very good Bargains had been made for those Goods which had been sold; of which the Marechal had an Account to his own desire.

But when, upon this unwelcome Advertisement, the King made his Address to the Cardinal to revoke this Order; and, as the best reason to oblige him to gratify him, told him, that the Money, which should be raised “ upon the Sale of those Cannon, was the “ only means he had to remove himself out of *France*, “ which he intended shortly to do, and to go to the “ hither-parts of *Germany*, and that his Sister, the “ Princess of *Orange*, and He, had some thoughts of

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"finding themselves together, in the beginning of the
 "Summer, at the *Spaw*: which indeed had newly
 entered into the King's consideration, and had been
 entertained by the Princess Royal; the Cardinal,
 being well pleased with the reason, told his Majesty,
 " that this Order was not newly made, but had been
 " very Ancient, that no Merchants or any private
 " Subjects, should buy any Brass-Ordnance in any
 " Port, lest ill use might be made of them; and that
 " the Order was not now revived with any purpose
 " to bring any prejudice to his Majesty; who should
 " be no loser by the restraint; for that himself would
 " buy the Ordnance, and give as much for them as
 " they were worth; in order to which, he would
 " forthwith send an Agent to *Nantes* to see the Can-
 " non; and, upon conference with a Person em-
 " ployed by the King, they two should agree
 " upon the price, and then the Money should be all
 " paid together to his Majesty in *Paris*:" intimating
 " that he would dispute the matter afterwards with
 " *Cromwell*;" as if he knew, or foresaw, that he
 would make some demand.

It was well for the King that this condition was
 made for the payment of this Money in *Paris*; for of
 all the Money paid or received at *Nantes*, as well for
 the Ships, Tackle, and Ordnance, as for the Prize-
 Goods, not one penny ever came to the King's hands,
 or to his use, but what he received at *Paris* from the
 Cardinal for the Brass-Guns which were upon the
Swallow; for the valuing whereof the King sent one
 thither to treat with the Officer of the Cardinal. All
 the rest was disposed, as well as received, by Prince
Rupert;

Rupert; who when he returned to *Paris*, gave his Majesty a confused Account; and averred, " that the * expenses had been so great, that there was not * only no Money remaining in his hands, but that * there was a debt still due to a Merchant;" which he desired his Majesty to promise to satisfy.

The King's resolution to go into *Germany* was very grateful to every body, more from the weariness they had of *France*, than from the foresight of any benefit and advantage that was like to accrue by the remove. But his Majesty, who needed no spurs for that Journey, was the more disposed to it by the extraordinary importunity of his Friends in *England*; who observing the strict correspondence that was between the Cardinal and *Cromwell*, and knowing that the Alliance between them was very near concluded, and being informed that there were conditions agreed upon, which were very prejudicial to the King, did really apprehend that his Majesty's Person might be given up; and thereupon they sent *Harry Seymour*, who, being of his Majesty's Bed-Chamber, and having his leave to attend his own Affairs in *England*, they well knew would be believed by the King, and being addressed only to the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he might have opportunity to speak with the King privately and undiscovered, and return again with security, as he, and divers Messengers of that kind, frequently did. He was sent by the Marquis of *Hertford*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, with the privacy of those few who were trusted by them, " to be very importunate with the King, that he would remove out

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The King resolves to go into Germany.

Mr. Harry Seymour sent to the King from his Friends in England.

BOOK " of *France*; and to communicate to his Majesty all
 XIV. " which they received from Persons who were admitted into many of the secret resolutions, and purposes of *Cromwell*." And because they well knew in what straits the King was for Money, they found some means at that time to send him a Supply of about three thousand pounds; which the King received, and kept with great secrecy. They sent him word likewise, " that wherever he should chuse to reside out of *France*, they were confident his Servants in *England*, under what persecution soever they lay, would send him some supply: but whilst he remained in *France*, no body would be prevailed with to send to him." The King was glad to be confirmed in the resolution he had taken, by his Friends advice; and that they had in some degree enabled him to prosecute it; which was the more valuable, because it was known to none. Yet his Debts were so great in *Paris*, and the Servants who were to attend him in so ill a condition, and so without all conveniences for a Journey, that, if the Cardinal, over and above the Money for the Cannon (which the King did not desire to receive till the last) did not take care for the payment of all the Arrears, which were due upon the Assignments they had made to him, he should not be able to make his Journey.

But in this he received some ease quickly; for when the Cardinal was satisfied, that his Majesty had a full resolution to be gone; which he still doubted, till he heard from *Holland* that the Princess Royal did really provide for her Journey to the *Spaw*, he did let the King know, " that, against the time that his

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The Cardinal
pays the King
all his Arrears
from France.

" Majesty appointed his remove, his Arrears should
" be either entirely paid, or so much of his Debts
" secured to his Creditors, as should well satisfy
" them; and the rest should be paid to his Receiver
" for the charge of the Journey;" and likewise assured
his Majesty, " that, for the future, the monthly Af-
" signation should be punctually paid to whomsoever
" his Majesty would appoint to receive it." This
promise was better complied with than any other
that had been made, till, some years after, the King
thought fit to decline the receiving thereof; which
will be remembered in it's place.

All things being in this state, the King declared his
resolution to begin his Journey, as soon as he could
put himself into a capacity of moving, upon the
receipt of the Money he expected, and all prepara-
tions were made for enabling the Family to be ready
to wait upon his Majesty, and for the better regu-
lating, and governing it, when the King should be
out of *France*; there having never been any order
taken in it whilst he remained there, nor could be,
because his Majesty had always eaten with the Queen,
and Her Officers had governed the expense; so that
by the failing of receiving Money that was promised,
and by the Queen's Officers receiving all that was
paid, to carry on the expense of their Majesties Table,
which the King's Servants durst not inquire into,
very few of his Majesty's Servants had received any
wages from the time of his coming from *Worcester* to
the remove he was now to make. Nor was it pos-
sible now to satisfy them what they might in justice
expect, but they were to be contented with such a

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Proportion as could be spared, and which might enable them, without reproach and scandal, to leave *Paris* and attend him. They were all modest in their desires, hoping that they should be better provided for in another place. But now the King met with an obstruction, that he least suspected, from the extraordinary narrowness of the Cardinal's nature, and his over-good husbandry in bargaining. The Agent he had sent to *Nantes* to view the Cannon, made so many scruples and exceptions upon the price, and upon the weight, that spent much time; and, at last, offered much less than they were worth, and than the other Merchant had offered, when the Injunction came that restrained him from proceeding. The King knew not what to propose in this. The Cardinal said, "he understood not the price of Cannon himself, "and therefore he had employed a Man that did; "and it was reasonable for him to govern himself by "His Conduct; who assured him, that he offered as "much as they could reasonably be valued at." It was moved on the King's behalf, "that he would permit "others to buy them; which," he said, "he could "not do, because of the King his Master's restraint; "and if any Merchant, or other Person, should agree "for them, *Cromwell* would demand them wherever "they should be found; and there were not many "that would dispute the Right with Him." In conclusion, the King was compelled to refer the matter to himself, and to accept what he was content to pay; and when all was agreed upon according to his own pleasure, he required new abatements in the manner of payment of the Money, all allowance for paying it

in Gold, and the like, fitter to be insisted on by the meanest Merchant, than by a Member of the sacred College, who would be esteemed a Prince of the Church. BOOK
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Whilst the King is preparing for his Journey to meet the Princess of *Orange*, it will be fit to look back a little on the condition of the rest of his Brothers and Sisters. After that the Princess *Henrietta* had been secretly conveyed from *Oatlands* into *France*, by the Lady *Moreton* her Governess, in the Year forty-six; and the Duke of *York*, in the Year forty-eight, had made his escape from *St. James*; where He, and the rest of the Royal Family that remained in *England*, were under the Care and Tuition of the Earl of *Northumberland*; the Parliament would not suffer, nor did the Earl desire, that the rest should remain longer under his Government. But the other two, the Princess *Elizabeth*, and the Duke of *Glocester*, were committed to the Countess of *Leicester*; to whom such an allowance was paid out of the Treasury, as might well defray their Expenses with that respect that was due to their Birth; which was performed towards them as long as the King their Father lived. But as soon as the King was Murdered, it was ordered that the Children should be removed into the Country, that they might not be the objects of respect to draw the Eyes and Application of People towards them. The Allowance was retrenched, that their Attendants and Servants might be lessened; and order was given, “ that they should be treated without any Addition
“ of Titles, and that they should sit at their Meat as
“ the Children of the Family did, and all at one

The Condition
of King Char-
les the first's
Children after
their Father's
death.

BOOK "Table." Whereupon they were removed to *Pen-*
 XIV. *hurst*, a House of the Earl of *Leicester's* in *Kent*; where they lived under the Tuition of the same Countess, who observed the Order of the Parliament with Obedience enough: yet they were carefully looked to, and treated with as much respect as the Lady pretended she durst pay to them.

There, by an Act of Providence, Mr. *Lovel*, an honest Man, who had been recommended to teach the Earl of *Sunderland*, whose Mother was a Daughter of the House of *Leicester*, became likewise Tutor to the Duke of *Glocester*; who was, by that means, well taught in that Learning that was fit for his Years, and very well instructed in the Principles of Religion, and the Duty that he owed to the King his Brother: all which made the deeper impression in his very pregnant Nature, by what his memory retained of those Instructions which the King his Father had, with much fervor, given him before his death. But shortly after, the Princess *Elizabeth*, and the Duke of *Glocester*, were removed from the Government of the Countess of *Leicester*, and sent into the Isle of *Wight* to *Carisbrook*-Castle; where *Mildmay* was Captain; and the Care of them committed to him, with an Assignment for their Maintenance; which he was to order, and which in truth was given as a boon to him; and he was required strictly, "that no Person should be permitted to kiss their hands, and that they should not be otherwise treated than as the Children of a Gentleman;" which *Mildmay* observed very exactly; and the Duke of *Glocester* was not called by any other Style than Mr. *Harry*. The Tutor

was continued, and sent thither with him; which pleased him very well. And here they remained at least two or three Years. The Princess died in this Place; and, according to the Charity of that time towards *Cromwell*, very many would have it believed to be by Poison; of which there was no appearance, nor any proof ever after made.

But whether this reproach and suspicion made any impression in the mind of *Cromwell*, or whether he had any jealousy that the Duke of *Glocester*, who was now about twelve years of Age, and a Prince of extraordinary Hopes both from the Comeliness and Gracefulness of his Person, and the Vivacity and Vigor of his Wit and Understanding, which made him much spoken of, might, at some time or other, be made use of by the discontented Party of his own Army to give him trouble, or whether he would show the contempt he had of the Royal Family, by sending another of it into the World to try his Fortune; he did declare one day to the Parliament, "that he was well content that the Son of the late King, who was then in *Carisbrook-Castle*, should have liberty to Transport himself into any parts beyond the Seas, as he should desire:" which was at that time much wondered at, and not believed; and many thought it a preface of a worse inclination; and for some time there was no more speech of it. But notice and advice being sent to the Duke by those who wished his Liberty, that he should prosecute the obtaining that Order and Release, He, who desired most to be out of restraint, sent his Tutor, *Mr. Lovel*, to *London*, to be advised by Friends what he should do to

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XIV. procure such an Order, and Warrant, as was necessary for his Transportation. And he, by the advice of those who wished well to the Affair, did so dexterously solicit it, that he did not only procure an Order from the Parliament that gave him Liberty to go over the Seas with the Duke, and to require *Mildmay* to permit him to Embark, but likewise five hundred pounds from the Commissioners of the Treasury, which he received, to defray the Charges and Expenses of the Voyage; being left to provide a Ship himself, and being obliged to Embark at the Isle of *Wight*, and not to suffer the Duke to go on Shore in any other part of *England*.

This happened in the latter end of the Year 1652; and was so well prosecuted, that, soon after, the King received advertisement from his Sister in *Holland*, "that the Duke of *Glocester* was arrived there, " and would be the next day with her;" which was no sooner known than the Queen very earnestly desired, that he might be presently sent for to *Paris*, that she might see him; which she had never done since he was about a year old; for within such a short time after he was Born, the Troubles were so far advanced, that her Majesty made her Voyage into *Holland*, and from that time had never seen him. The King could not refuse to satisfy his Mother in so reasonable a desire, though he did suspect that there might be a farther purpose in that design of seeing him, than was then owned. And therefore he had despatched presently a Messenger to the *Hague*, that his Brother might make all possible haste to *Paris*. He was accordingly presently sent for, and came safely to *Paris*, to the satisfaction of all who saw him.

Now all Expedition was used to provide for the King's remove, so generally desired of all; and, for the future, the Charge of governing the Expenses of the Family, and of payment of the Wages of the Servants, and indeed of issuing out all Monies, as well in Journies as when the Court resided any where, was committed to *Stephen Fox*, a young Man bred under the severe discipline of the Lord *Piercy*, now Lord Chamberlain of the King's Household. This *Stephen Fox* was very well qualified with Languages, and all other parts of Clerkship, Honesty, and Discretion, that were necessary for the discharge of such a Trust; and indeed his great Industry, Modesty, and Prudence, did very much contribute to the bringing the Family, which for so many Years had been under no Government, into very good Order; by which his Majesty, in the pinching straits of his Condition, enjoyed very much ease from the time he left *Paris*.

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Mr. Stephen Fox admitted to manage the King's money.

Prince *Rupert* was now returned from *Nantes*; and finding that he should receive none of the Money the Cardinal was to pay for the Brass-Ordinance, and being every day more indisposed by the Chagrin-Humor of the Keeper (who endeavoured to enflame him against the King, as well as against most other Men, and thought his Highness did not give evidence enough of his concernment and Friendship for him, except he fell out with every Body with whom He was angry) resolved to leave the King; wrought upon, no doubt, besides the frowardness of the other Man, by the despair that seemed to attend the King's Fortune; and told his Majesty, "that he was

Prince Rupert leaves the King; and goes into Germany.

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“ resolved to look after his own Affairs in *Germany*; and first to visit his Brother in the *Palatinate*, and require what was due from him for his Appanage; and then to go to the Emperor, to receive the Money that was due to him upon the Treaty at *Munster*,” which was to be all paid by the Emperor; from the prosecution of which purpose his Majesty did not dissuade him; and, possibly, heard it with more indifferency than the Prince expected; which raised his natural Passion; insomuch; as the day when he took his leave, that no body might imagine that he had any thoughts ever to return to have any relation to, or dependance upon the King, he told his Majesty, “ that, if he pleased, he might dispose of the place of Master of the Horse;” in which he had been settled by the late King, and his present Majesty had, to preserve that Office for him, and to take away the pretence the Lord *Piercy* might have to it, by his having had that Office to the Prince of *Wales*, recompensed Him with the place of Lord Chamberlain, though not to his full content. But the King bore this Relinquishment likewise from the Prince with the same countenance as he had done his first Resolution; and so, towards the end of *April*, or the beginning of *May*, his Highness left the King, and begun his Journey for the *Palatinate*.

Relinquishes to him
the place of
Master of the
Horse.

Shortly after the Prince was gone, the King began to think of a day for his own departure, and to make a List of his Servants he intended should wait upon him. He foresaw that the only end of his Journey was to find some place where he might securely attend such a Conjunction, as God Almighty should give

him, that might invite him to new Activity, his present business being to be quiet; and therefore he was wont to say, "that he would provide the best he could for it, by having only such about him as could be quiet." He could not forget the vexation the Lord Keeper had always given him, and how impossible it was for him to live easily with any body; and so, in the making the List of those who were to go with him, he left his Name out; which the Keeper could not be long without knowing; and thereupon he came to the King, and asked him, "whether he did not intend that he should wait upon him? His Majesty told him, No; for that he resolved to make no use of his Great-Seal; and therefore that he should stay at *Paris*, and not put himself to the trouble of such a Journey, which he himself intended to make without the ease and benefit of a Coach:" which in truth he did, putting his Coach-Horses in a Waggon, wherein his Bed and Clothes were carried: nor was he owner of a Coach in some year after. The Keeper expostulated with him in vain upon the dishonor that it would be to him to be left behind, and the next day brought the Great-Seal, and delivered it to him; and desired "that he would sign a Paper, in which his Majesty acknowledged, that he had received again his Great Seal from him;" which the King very willingly signed; and He immediately removed his Lodging, and left the Court; and never after saw his Majesty; which did not at all please the Queen; who was as much troubled that He was to stay where She was, as that he did not go with the King.

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The Lord
Keeper Herbert
resigns
his Office to
the King.

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The Queen
prevails with
the King to
leave the Duke
of Gloucester
with her.

The Queen prevailed with the King, at parting, in a particular in which he had fortified himself to deny her, which was, "that he would leave the Duke " of *Glocester* with her;" which she asked with so much importunity, that, without very much disobliging her, he could not resist. She desired him "to consider in what condition he had been bred till he " came into *France*, without Learning either exercise or language, or having ever seen a Court, or " good Company; and being now in a place, and " at an Age, that he might be instructed in all these, " to carry him away from all these Advantages to " live in *Germany*, would be interpreted by all the " world, not only to be want of kindness towards " his Brother, but want of all manner of respect to " Her." The reasonableness of this discourse, together with the King's utter disability to support him in the condition that was fit for him, would easily have prevailed, had it not been for the fear that the purpose was to pervert him in his Religion; which when the Queen had assured the King "was not in her " thought, and that she would not permit any such " attempt to be made," his Majesty consented to it.

Now the day being appointed for his Majesty to begin his Journey, the King desired that the Chancellor of the Exchequer might likewise part in the Queen's good grace, at least without her notable disfavor, she having been so severe towards him, that he had not for some Months presumed to be in her presence: so that though he was very desirous to kiss her Majesty's hand, he himself knew not how to make any Advance towards it. But the day before

the King was to be gone, the Lord *Piercy*, who was directed by his Majesty to speak in the Affair, and who in truth had kindness for the Chancellor, and knew the prejudice against him to be very unjust, brought him word that the Queen was content to see him, and that he would accompany him to her in the Afternoon. Accordingly at the hour appointed by her Majesty, they found her alone in her private Gallery, and the Lord *Piercy* withdrawing to the other end of the Room, the Chancellor told her Majesty, "that now she had vouchsafed to admit him into her presence, he hoped, she would let him know the ground of the displeasure she had conceived against him; that so having vindicated himself from any fault towards her Majesty, he might leave her with a confidence in his Duty, and receive her Commands, with an assurance that they should be punctually obeyed by him." The Queen, with a louder voice, and more emotion than she was accustomed to, told him, "that she had been contented to see him, and to give him leave to kiss her hand, to comply with the King's desires, who had importuned her to it; otherwise, that he lived in that manner towards her, that he had no reason to expect to be welcome to her: that she need not assign any particular miscarriage of his, since his disrespect towards her was notorious to all Men; and that all Men took notice, that he never came where she was, though he lodged under her Roof" (for the House was her's) "and that she thought she had not seen him in six Months before; which she looked upon as so high an Af-

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Upon the King's departure from France, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had an Audience of the Queen-Mother.

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“ front, that only her respect towards the King prevailed with her to endure it.”

When her Majesty made a pause, the Chancellor said, “ that her Majesty had only mentioned his punishment, and nothing of his fault: that how great soever his infirmities were in defect of Understanding, or in good manners, he had yet never been in *Bedlam*; which he had deserved to be, if he had affected to publish to the world that he was in the Queen’s disfavor, by avoiding to be seen by her: that he had no kind of Apprehension that they who thought worst of him, would ever believe him to be such a Fool, as to provoke the Wife of his dead Master, the greatness of whose Affections to her was well known to him, and the Mother of the King, who subsisted by her favor, and all this in *France*, where himself was a banished Person, and she at home, where she might oblige, or disoblige him at her pleasure. So that he was well assured, that no body would think him guilty of so much folly and madness, as not to use all the endeavours he possibly could to obtain her Grace and Protection: that it was very true, he had been long without the presumption of being in her Majesty’s presence, after he had undergone many sharp Instances of her displeasure, and after he had observed some alteration and aversion in her Majesty’s looks and countenance, upon his coming into the Room where she was, and during the time he stayed there; which others likewise observed so much, that they withdrew from holding any conversation with him in those places, out of fear

“ to offend her Majesty: that he had often desired,
 “ by several Persons, to know the cause of her Ma-
 “ jesty’s displeasure, and that he might be admitted
 “ to clear himself from any unworthy Suggestions
 “ which had been made of him to her Majesty; but
 “ could never obtain that honor; and therefore he
 “ had conceived, that he was obliged, in good man-
 “ ners, to remove so unacceptable an object from
 “ the eyes of her Majesty, by not coming into her
 “ presence; which all who knew him, could not
 “ but know to be the greatest Mortification that
 “ could be inflicted upon him; and therefore he most
 “ humbly besought her Majesty at this Audience,
 “ which might be the last he should receive of her,
 “ she would dismiss him with the knowledge of what
 “ had been taken amiss, that he might be able to
 “ make his innocence and integrity appear: which
 “ he knew had been blasted by the malice of some
 “ Persons; and thereby misunderstood and misinter-
 “ preted by her Majesty.” But all this prevailed not
 with her Majesty; who, after she had, with her former passion, objected his credit with the King, and his endeavours to lessen that credit which she ought to have, concluded, “ that she should be glad to see
 “ reason to change her opinion;” and so, carelessly, extended her hand towards him; which he kissing, her Majesty departed to her Chamber.

It was about the beginning of *June* in the year 1654, The King left Paris in June 1654.
 that the King left *Paris*; and because he made a private Journey the first Night, and did not join his Family till the next day, which administered much occasion of discourse, and gave occasion to a bold

B O O K Person to publish, amongst the Amours of the *French*
XIV. Court, a particular that reflected upon the Person of the King, though with less Licence than he used towards his own Sovereign, it will not be amiss in this place to mention a preservation God then wrought for the King that was none of the least of his Mercies vouchsafed to him; and which shows the wonderful Liberty that was then taken by some near him, to promote their own designs, and projects, at the price of their Master's Honor, and the Interest of their Country, or the Sense they had of that Honor and Interest.

There was at that time in the Court of *France*, or rather in the jealousy of that Court, a Lady of great beauty, of a presence very graceful and alluring, and a wit and behaviour that captivated those who were admitted into her presence; her extraction was very noble, and her alliance the best under the Crown, her fortune rather competent, than abounding, for her degree; being the Widow of a Duke of an illustrious Name, who had been killed fighting for the King in the late Troubles, and left his Wife childless, and in her full Beauty. The King had often seen this Lady with that esteem, and inclination, which few were without, both her Beauty and her Wit deserving the homage that was paid to her. The Earl of *Bristol*, who was then a Lieutenant-General in the *French Army*, and always Amorously inclined, and the more inclined by the difficulty of the attempt, was grown powerfully in love with this Lady; and to have the more power with her, communicated those Secrets of State which concerned her safety,
 and

and more the Prince of *Condé*, whose Cousin-German she was; the communication whereof was of benefit, or convenience to both: yet though he made many Romantic Attempts to ingratiate himself with her, and such as would neither have become, or been safe to any other Man than himself, who was accustomed to extraordinary flights in the Air, he could not arrive at the high success he proposed. At the same time, the Lord *Crofts* was transported with the same ambition; and though his parts were very different from the other's, yet he wanted not art and address to encourage him in those Attempts, and could bear repulses with more tranquillity of mind, and acquiescence, than the other could. When these two Lords had lamented to each other their mutual infelicity, they agreed generously to merit their Mistress' favor by doing her a Service that should deserve it; and boldly proposed to her the Marriage of the King; who, they both knew, had no dislike of her Person: and they pursued it with his Majesty with all their Artifices. They added the reputation of her Wisdom and Virtue to that of her Beauty, and "that she might be instrumental to the 'procuring more Friends towards his Restoration, than any other Expedient then in view;" and at last prevailed so far with the King, who no doubt had a perfect Esteem of her, that he made the Overture to her of Marriage; which she received with her natural modesty and address, declaring herself "to be much unworthy of that Grace;" and beseeching and advising him "to preserve that affection and inclination for an object more equal to him, and more capable

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" to contribute to his Service;" using all those Arguments for refusal, which might prevail with and enflame him to new importunities.

Though these Lords made themselves, upon this Advance, sure to go through with their design, yet they foresaw many obstructions in the way. The Queen, they knew, would never consent to it, and the *French* Court would obstruct it, as they had done that of *Mademoiselle*; nor could they persuade the Lady herself to depart from her dignity, and to use any of those arts which might expedite the design. The Earl of *Bristol* therefore, that the News might not come to his friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer by other hands, frankly imparted it to him, only as a passion of the King's that had exceedingly transported him; and then magnified the Lady, " as a Person that would exceedingly cultivate the King's nature, and render him much more dexterous to advance his Fortune:" and therefore he professed, " that he would not dissuade his Majesty from gratifying so noble an affection;" and used many Arguments to persuade the Chancellor too to think very well of the choice. But when he found that he was so far from concurring with him, that he reproached his great presumption for interposing in an Affair of so delicate a nature, as by his Conduct might prove the ruin of the King, he seemed resolved to prosecute it no farther, but to leave it entirely to the King's own Inclination; who, upon serious reflections upon his own condition, and conference with those he trusted most, quickly concluded that such a Marriage was not like to yield much advantage to

his Cause; and so resolved to decline any farther advance towards it. Yet the same Persons persuaded him, that it was a necessary generosity to take his last farewell of her; and so, after he had taken leave of his Mother, he went so much out of his way as to visit her at her House; where those Lords made their last effort; and his Majesty, with great esteem of the Lady's Virtue, and Wisdom, the next day joined his Family, and prosecuted his Journey towards *Flanders*; his small stop out of the way, having raised a confident rumor in *Paris* that he was Married to that Lady.

The King had received a Pass from the Arch-Duke for his passing through *Flanders*, so warily worded, that he could not but take notice, that it was expected and provided for, that he should by no means make any unnecessary stay in his Journey; and he found the Gates of *Cambrai* shut when he came thither; and was compelled to stay long in the afternoon, before they were opened to receive him; which they excused, "by reason that they understood the Enemy was at hand, and intended to sit down before that City;" of which there appeared in the face of all the People, and the Governor himself, a terrible Apprehension. But, upon recollection, his Majesty was well received by the Governor, and treated and lodged that night by him in his House; who was the better composed by his Majesty's assuring him, "that the *French* Army was at a great distance from him, "and that his Majesty had passed through it the day before" (when *Marechal Turenne* had drawn up the Army to receive his Majesty; the Duke of *York*

The King comes to Cambrai in his Journey.

● ● ● X having there likewise taken his leave of the King)

XIV. "and by the march that they then appeared to make,
"there was great reason to conclude that they had
"no design upon *Cambray*;" which good information made the King's presence the more acceptable. But besides the civility of that Supper, and Lodging that Night, his Majesty had not the least Address from the Arch-Duke, who was within four or five Leagues with his Army, but passed without the least notice taken of him, through those Provinces; so great a terror possessed the hearts of the *Spaniard*, lest their showing any respect to the King in his passage through their Country, should incense *Cromwell* against them, whose friendship they yet seemed to have hope of.

The King
passes through
Flanders
without being
taken notice
of by the
Arch-Duke.

At Mons he
meets with
Messengers
to him from
his Friends
in England.
They notify
to him the
State of Af-
fairs in
England,
relating
chiefly to
Cromwell
and his Army.

His Majesty intended to have made no stay, having received Letters from the *Hague*, that his Sister was already in her Journey for the *Spaw*. But, when he came to *Mons*, he found two Gentlemen there, who came out of *England* with Letters and Instructions from those of his Friends there who retained their old Affections. By them his Majesty was informed, that many of them recovered new Courage from the General discontent which possessed the Kingdom, and which every day increased by the continual Oppressions, and Tyranny they sustained. The Taxes and Impositions every day were augmented, and *Cromwell*, and his Council, did greater Acts of Sovereignty than ever King and Parliament had attempted. All Goals were full of such Persons as contradicted their Commands, and were suspected to wish well to the King; and there appeared such a rent among the

Officers of the Army, that the Protector was compelled to displace many of them, and to put more confiding Men in their places. And as this remedy was very necessary to be applied for his Security, so it proved of great Reputation to him, even beyond his own hope, or at least his confidence. For the licence of the Common-Soldiers, manifested in their general and public discourses, censures, and reproaches of Him, and his Tyrannical proceedings (which Liberty he well knew was taken by many, that they might discover the Affections, and Inclinations of other Men, and for his Service) did not much affect him, or was not terrible to him otherwise than as they were Soldiers of this, or that Regiment, and under this or that Captain, whose Officers he knew well hated him, and who had their Soldiers so much at their Devotion, that they could lead them upon any Enterprize: and he knew well that this seditious Spirit possessed many of the principal Officers both of Horse and Foot, who hated him now, in the same proportion that they had heretofore loved him, above all the world. This loud distemper grew the more formidable to him, in that he did believe the fire was kindled and blown by *Lambert*, and that they were all conducted and inspired by his melancholic, and undiscerned Spirit, though yet all things were outwardly very fair between them. Upon this disquisition he saw hazard enough in attempting any Reformation (which the Army thought he durst not undertake to do alone, and they feared not his proceeding by a Council of War, where they knew they had many Friends) but apparent danger, and very

B O O K probable ruin, if he deferred it. And so trusting only
XIV. to, and depending upon his own Stars, he cashiered
ten or a dozen Officers, though not of the highest
Command, and those whom he most apprehended,
yet of those petulant and active humors, which made
them for the present most useful to the others, and
most pernicious to Him. By this experiment he found
the example wrought great effects upon many who
were not touched by it, and that the Men who had
done so much mischief, being now reduced to a pri-
vate condition, and like other particular Men, did
not only lose all their credit with the Soldiers, but
behaved themselves with much more wariness and
reservation toward all other Men. This gave him
more ease than he had before enjoyed, and raised his
resolution how to proceed hereafter upon the like
Provocations, and gave him great credit, and autho-
rity. with those who had believed that many Officers
had a greater influence upon the Army than himself.

It was very evident that he had some War in his
purpose; for from the time that he had made a Peace
with the *Dutch*, he took greater care to increase his
Stores and Magazines of Arms and Ammunition, and
to build more Ships, than he had ever done before;
and he had given order to make ready two great
Fleets in the Winter, under Officers who should have
no dependance upon each other; and Land-men were
likewise appointed to be levied. Some principal Offi-
cers amongst these, made great professions of Duty
to the King; and made tender of their Service to his
Majesty by these Gentlemen. It was thought neces-
sary to make a day's stay at *Mons*, to despatch those

Gentlemen; who were very well known, and worthy to be trusted. Such Commissions were prepared for them, and such Instructions, as were desired by those who employed them. And his Majesty gave nothing so much in Charge to the Messengers, and to all his Friends in *England* with whom he had correspondence, as "that they should live quietly, without making any desperate or unreasonable attempt, or giving advantage to those who watched them, to put them into Prison, and to ruin their Estates and Families." He told them, "the vanity of imagining that any Insurrection could give any trouble to so well a formed and disciplined Army, and the destruction that must attend such a rash attempt: that, as he would be always ready to venture his own Person with them in any reasonable, and well formed undertaking; so he would with patience attend God's own time for such an opportunity; and, in the mean time, he would sit still in such a convenient place as he should find willing to receive him; of which he could yet make no judgment:" however, it was very necessary that such Commissions should be in the hands of discreet and able Men, in Expectation of two Contingencies, which might reasonably be expected. The one, such a Schism in the Army, as might divide it upon contrary Interests into open Contentts, and Declarations against each other, which could not but produce an equal Schism in the Government: the other, the death of *Cromwell*, which was conspired by the Levellers, under several Combinations. And if that fell out, it could hardly be imagined, that the Army would

B O O K
XIV.
The King
advises his
Friends in
England to be
quiet.

BOOK

XIV.

remain united to the particular design of any single Person, but that the Parliament, which had been with so much violence turned out of doors by *Cromwell*, and which took itself to be perpetual, would quickly assemble again together, and take upon themselves the supreme Government.

Lambert, who was unquestionably the second Person in the Command of the Army, and was thought to be the first in their Affections, had had no less hand than *Cromwell* himself in the Dissolution of that Parliament, and was principal in raising him to be Protector under the Instrument of Government; and so could never reasonably hope to be trusted, and employed by them in the absolute Command of an Army that had already so notoriously rebelled against their Masters. Then *Monk*, who had the absolute Command in *Scotland*, and was his Rival already, under a mutual jealousy, would never submit to the Government of *Lambert*, if he had no other Title to it than his own presumption; and *Harry Cromwell* had made himself so popular in *Ireland*, that he would not, probably, be commanded by a Man whom he knew to be his Father's greatest Enemy. These considerations had made that impression upon those in *England* who were the most wary and averse from any rash Attempt, that they all wished that Commissions, and all other necessary powers, might be granted by the King, and deposited in such good hands as had the courage to trust themselves with the keeping them, till such a conjuncture should fall out as is mentioned, and of which few Men thought there was reason to despair.

The King having in this manner despatched those Messengers, and settled the best way he could to correspond with his Friends, continued his Journey from *Mons* to *Namur*; where he had a pleasant passage by Water to *Liege*; from whence, in five or six hours, he reached the *Spaw*, the next day after the Princess Royal, his beloved Sister, was come thither, and where they resolved to spend two or three Months together; which they did, to their singular content and satisfaction. And for some time the Joy of being out of *France*, where his Majesty had enjoyed no other pleasure than being alive, and the delight of the Company he was now in, suspended all thoughts of what place he was next to retire to. For as it could not be fit for his Sister to stay longer from her own Affairs in *Holland*, than the pretence of her health required, so the *Spaw* was a place that no body could stay longer in than the season for the Waters continued; which ended with the Summer.

The King no sooner arrived at the *Spaw*, than the Earl of *Rochester* returned thither to him from his Negotiation at *Ratisbone*; where he had remained during the Diet, without owning the Character he might have assumed; yet performed all the Offices with the Emperor, and the other Princes, with less noise, and expense; and with the same success as he could have expected from any qualification. The truth is, all the *German* Princes were at that time very poor; and that meeting for the chusing a King of the *Romans*, was of vast expense to every one of them, and full of faction, and contradiction; so that they had little leisure, and less inclination, to think

B O O K
XIV.

The King
arrives at the
Spaw where he
meets the
Princess of
Orange.

The Earl of
Rochester
returns to the
King from
Ratisbone.

- B O O K** of any business but what concerned themselves : yet
XIV. in the close of the Diet, by the conduct and dexterity of the Elector of *Mentz*, who was esteemed the wisest, and most practical Prince of the Empire, and who, out of mere generosity, was exceedingly affected with the ill fortune of the King; that Assembly was prevailed with to grant a Subsidy of four Romer-months; which is the measure of all Taxes, and impositions in *Germany*; that is, by the Romer-months, which every Prince is to pay, and cause it to be collected from their Subjects in their own method. This Money was to be paid towards the better support of the King of great *Britain*. And the Elector of *Mentz*, by his own Example, persuaded as many of the Princes as he had credit with, forthwith to pay their proportions to the Earl of *Rochester*; who was solicitous enough to receive it. The whole Contribution, if it had been generously made good, had not amounted to any considerable Sum upon so important an occasion. But the Emperor himself paid nothing, nor many other of the Princes, amongst whom were the Elector *Palatine*, and the *Landgrave* of *Hesse-Cassel*, who had both received great obligations from King *James*, and the last King his Son: So that the whole that was ever paid to the King, did not amount to ten thousand pounds sterling; a great part whereof was spent in the Negotiation of the Earl, and in the many Journeys he made to the Princes, being extremely possessed with the Spirit of being the King's General, which he thought he should not be, except he made Levies of Men; for which he was very solicitous to make Contracts with old *German* Officers, when

The King obtains a small subsidy from the Diet in Germany.

there was neither Port in view, where he might Embark them, nor a possibility of procuring Ships to Transport them, though *Cromwell* had not been possessed of any naval power to have resisted them; so blind Men are, whose Passions are so strong, and their judgments so weak, that they can look but upon one thing at once.

That part of the Money that was paid to his Majesty's use, was managed with very good Husbandry, and was a seasonable support to his well ordered Family, which with his own Expenses for his Table, and his Stable, and the Board-Wages, with which all his Servants from the highest to the lowest were well satisfied, according to the establishment after he left *France*, amounted not to above six hundred Pistoles a Month; which expense was not exceeded in many years, even until his coming into *Holland* in order to his Return into *England*. This method in the managery gave the King great ease; contented, and kept the Family in better order and humor than could reasonably have been expected; and was the more satisfactory, by the no-care, and order, that had been observed during all the residence the King had made in *France*.

The King stayed not so long at the *Spaw* as he meant to have done, the small Pox breaking out there; and one of the young Ladies who attended upon the Princess Royal, being seized upon by it, died: so that his Majesty, and his Sister, upon very sudden thoughts, removed from the *Spaw* to *Aken*, or *Aquisgrane*, an Imperial, and Free Town, governed by their own Magistrates; where the King of the

B O O K
XIV.

The monthly
Expenses of
the King's
small Family.

The King re-
moves to Aken
from the Spaw.

B O O K *Romans* ought to receive his first Iron Crown, which
XIV. is kept there. This place is famous for its hot Baths, whither many come after they have drank the cold Waters of the *Spaw*, and was a part of the prescription which the Physicians had made to the Princess, after she should have finished her Waters in the other Place. Upon that pretence, and for the use of those Baths, the Courts removed now thither; but in truth with a design that the King might make his Residence there, the Town being large, and the Country about it pleasant, and within five hours (for the Journeys in those Countries are measured by hours) of *Maastricht*, the most pleasant Seat within the Dominions of the United Provinces. The Magistrates received the King so Civilly, that his Majesty, who knew no other Place where he was sure to be admitted, resolved to stay there; and, in order thereunto, contracted for a convenient House, which belonged to one who was called a Baron; whither he resolved to remove as soon as his Sister, who had taken the two great Inns of the Town for Her's, and the King's Accommodation, should return into *Holland*.

Here the good old Secretary *Nicholas*, who had remained in *Holland* from the time that, upon the Treaty of *Breda*, the King had Transported himself into *Scotland*, presented himself to his Majesty; who received him very graciously, as a Person of great Merit and Integrity from the beginning of the Troubles, and always entirely trusted by the King his Father. And now to him the King gave his Signet; which for three years had been kept by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, out of Friendship that it

Secretary
Nicholas
 comes hither
 to the King
 and the King
 gives him the
 Signet.

might be restored to him. And he had therefore refused in *France* to be admitted into the Secretary's Office, which he executed, because he knew that they who advised it, did it rather that *Nicholas* might not have it, than out of any kindness to himself. He held himself obliged by the Friendship, that had ever been between them, to preserve it for him; and, as soon as he came to *Aken*, desired the King to declare him to be his Secretary; which was done; by which he had a fast Friend added to the Council, and of general reputation.

When the King remained at *Aken*, he received many Expresses out of *England*, which informed him of the renewed courage of his Friends there: that the Faction and Animosity, which every day appeared between the Officers of the Army, and in *Cromwell's* Council, upon particular Interest, raised a general opinion and hope, that there would be an absolute rupture between them; when either Party would be glad to make a conjunction with the King's. In order thereunto, there was an Intelligence entered into throughout the Kingdom, that they might make use of such an occasion; and they sent now to the King to be directed by him, how they should behave themselves upon such and such contingencies; and sent for more Commissions of the same kind as had been formerly sent to them. The King renewed his Commands to them, "not to flatter themselves with vain
" imaginations; nor to give too easy credit to ap-
" pearances of Factions and Divisions; which would
" always be counterfeited, that they might the more
" easily discover the Agitations, and Transactions

The Accounts
the King re-
ceives here out
of England.

He gives the
same Advice
as before
to his Friends.

BOOK
XIV.

The King
receives an
account from
Scotland and
Middleton.

“ of those upon whom they looked as inveterate and
“ irreconcilable Enemies to the Government.

News came from *Scotland*, that *Middleton* had some
Successes in the High-lands; and the *Scottish* Lords
who were Prisoners in *England*, assured the King,
“ that there was now so entire a Union in that Nation
“ for his Service, that they wished his Majesty him-
“ self would venture thither:” and the Lord *Bal-*
carris, who was with the King, and intrusted by
that People, used much Instance with him to that
purpose; which, how unreasonable soever the Advice
seemed to be, Men knew not how to contradict by
proposing any thing that seemed more reasonable;
and so underwent the reproach of being lazy and
unactive, and unwilling to submit to any fatigue, or
to expose themselves to any danger; without which,
it was thought, his Majesty could not expect to be
restored to any part of his Sovereignty.

The Chancel-
lor of the Ex-
chequer's
discourse to
the King
concerning
his going into
Scotland.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer one day repre-
senting to the King the sadness of his condition, and
the general discourses of Men, and, “ that it was his
“ Majesty's misfortune to be thought by many not to
“ be active enough towards his own redemption,
“ and to love his ease too much, in respect both of
“ his Age,” and his Fortune, desired him “ to con-
“ sider upon this news, and importunity from *Scot-*
land, whether in those High-lands there might not
“ be such a safe retreat and residence, that he might
“ reasonably say, that with the affections of that
“ People, which had been always firm both to his
“ Father and Himself, he might preserve himself in
“ safety, though he could not hope to make any.

" advance, or recover the lower Part of that Kingdom
 " possessed by the Enemy; and if so, whether he
 " might not expect the good hand of Providence, by
 " some Revolution, more honorably There, than
 " in such Corners of other Princes Dominions, as he
 " might be forced to put himself into." His Majesty
 discoursed very calmly of that Country, part where-
 of he had seen, of the miserable poverty of the Peo-
 ple, and their course of Life; and how " impossible
 " it was for him to live there with security or with
 " health; that, if sickness did not destroy him, which
 " he had reason to expect from the ill Accommoda-
 " tion he must be there contented with, he should
 " in a short time be betrayed and given up." And
 in this debate, he told him that melancholic Con-
 clusion, which *David Lesley* made at *Warrington-*
Bridge, which is mentioned before, when he told
 the King, " that those Men would never fight;
 which his Majesty had never, he said, told to any
 body before. However, he said, " if his Friends
 " would advise him to that Expedition, he would
 " transport himself into the High-lands; though he
 " knew what would come of it, and that they would
 " be sorry for it:" which stopped the Chancellor from
 ever saying more to that purpose. And it was not
 long after that news came, of *Middleton's* having been
 like to be given up to the Enemy by the treachery of
 that People, and of the defeat his Troops had re-
 ceived, and that he should be at last forced to quit
 that miserable Country; which, however, he resolved
 to endure, as long as should be possible.

B O O K
 XIV.

The King's
 Reply.

The Season of the year now begun to approach

B O O K that would oblige the Princess Royal to return to the
XIV. *Hague*, lest the jealous States, from her long absence, might be induced to contrive some Act prejudicial to her, and her Son; which she was the more liable to, from the unkind Differences between Her and the Princess Dowager, Mother of the deceased Prince of *Orange*, a Lady of great cunning and dexterity to promote her own Interest. The air of *Aken*, and the ill smell of the Baths, made that place less agreeable to the King than at first he believed it to be; and he wished to find a better Town to reside in, which he might be put to endure long. The City of *Cologne* was distant from *Aken* two short days Journey, and had the fame of an excellent Situation. But the People were reported to be of a proud and mutinous Nature, always in Rebellion against their Bishop and Prince, and of so much Bigotry in Religion that they had expelled all Protestants out of their City, and would suffer no exercise of Religion, but of the Roman-Catholic. So that there seemed little hope that they would permit the King to reside there; the rather, because it was the Staple for the Wines of that Country, and maintained a good intelligence and trade with *England*. If the King should send thither to provide a House, and declare a purpose to stay there, and they should refuse to receive him, it might be of very ill consequence, and fright any other places, and *Aken* itself, from permitting him to return thither; and therefore that Adventure was to be avoided. At last it was concluded, that the Princess Royal should make *Cologne* her way into *Holland*; which was reasonable enough, by the convenience

venience of the River for the commodious Transportation of her Goods, and Family : and the King, accompanying her so far, might make a judgment, upon his observation whether it would be best for him to stay there, or to return to *Aken*; where he would leave his Family, as the place where he had taken a House, and to which he meant in few days to return. With this resolution they left *Aken*, about the middle of *September*; and lodging one Night at *Juliers*, a little dirty Town upon a flat, not worthy to have made a Quarrel between so many of the Princes of *Europe*, nor of the fame it got by the Siege, they came the next day to *Cologne*; where they were received with all the Respect, Pomp, and Magnificence, that could be expected, or the City could perform. The House which the Harbingers of the Princess had taken for her Reception, served likewise to accommodate the King; and the Magistrates performed their Respects to both with all possible demonstration of civility.

B O O K
xiv.
In September
the King and
his Sister come
to Cologne.

Cologne is a City most pleasantly Situated upon the Banks of the *Rhine*; of a large extent, and fair and substantial Buildings; and encompassed with a broad and excellent Rampart, upon which are fair Walks of great Elms, where two Coaches may go on breast, and, for the beauty of it, is not inferior to the Walls of *Antwerp*, but rather superior, because This goes round the Town. The Government is under the Senate and Consuls; of whom there was one then Consul, who said " he was descended from " Father to Son of a Patrician Roman Family, that " had continued from the time the Colony was first " planted there." It had never been otherwise

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B O O K subject to the Bishops, than in some points which refer
XIV. to their Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; which They sometimes endeavouring to enlarge, the Magistrates always oppose: and that gives the Subject of the discourse of Jealousies, and Conteſts, between their Prince and Them; which are neither so frequent, nor of that moment, as they are reported to be. The Elector never resides there, but keeps his Court at his Castle of *Bonne*, near four Miles from thence. And that Elector, who was of the House of *Bavaria*, and a melancholic and peevish Man, had not then been in the City in very many years. The Number of Churches and Religious Houses is incredible; inſomuch as it was then averred, "that the Religious
 " Persons and Church-men made up a full moiety of
 " the Inhabitants of the Town;" and Their Interest and Authority so far prevailed, that, some few years before the King came thither, they expelled all those of the Protestant Religion, contrary to the Advice of the wisest of the Magistrates; who confessed "that
 " the Trade of the Town was much decayed there-
 " by, and the Poverty thereof much increased." And it is very possible, that the vast Number, and unſkilful Zeal of the Ecclesiastical and Religious Persons, may at some time expose that noble City to the surprise of ſome powerful Prince, who would quickly deprive them of their long-enjoyed Privileges. And there was, in that very time of the King's stay there, a design by the *French* to have surprised it; *Schomberg* lying many days in wait there, to have performed that Service; which was very hardly prevented. The People are so much more civil than they were reported

to be, that they seem to be the most conversible, and to understand the Laws of Society and Conversation better than any other People of *Germany*. To the King they were so devoted, that when they understood he was not so fixed to the resolution of residing at *Aken*, but that he might be diverted from it, they very handsomely made tender to him of any accommodation that City could yield him, and of all the Affection and Duty they could pay him; which his Majesty most willingly accepted; and giving Order for the payment of the rent of the House he had taken at *Aken*, which he had not at all used, and other disbursements, which the Master of the House had made to make it the more convenient for his Majesty, and likewise sending very gracious Letters to the Magistrates of that Town, for the civility they had expressed towards him, he sent for that part of his Family which remained there, to attend him at *Cologne*; where he declared he would spend that Winter.

B O O K
XIV.

The Citizens
invite the
King to reside
there.

The King
fixes there,

As soon as the King came to *Cologne*, he sent to the Neighbour-Princes, by proper messages and insinuations, for that Money, which by the grant of the Diet, that is, by their own concession, they were obliged to pay to his Majesty; which though it amounted to no great Sum, yet was of great convenience to his Support. The Duke of *Newburgh*, whose Court was at *Dusseldorp*, a small day's Journey from *Cologne*, and by which the Princess Royal was to pass if she made use of the River, sent his Proportion very generously, with many expressions of great respect and duty, and with insinuation "that he

BOOK " would be glad to receive the honor of Entertain-
 XIV. " ing the King, and his Sister, in his Palace, as she
 " returned." However he forbore to make any so-
 lemn Invitation, without which they could not make
 the Visit, till some Ceremonies were first adjusted;
 upon which that Nation is more punctual, and ob-
 stinate, than any other People in *Europe*. He who
 gave the Intimation, and came only with a compli-
 ment to congratulate his Majesty's and her Royal
 Highnesses' Arrival in those parts, was well instructed
 in the particulars; of which there were only two of
 Moment, and the rest were Formalities from which
 they might recede, if those two were consented to.
 The one was, " that the King, at their first meeting,
 " should at least once treat the Duke with *Alteſſe*; the
 other, " that the Duke might salute the Princess
 " Royal;" and without consenting to these two,
 there could be no meeting between them. Both the
 King and his Sister were naturally enough inclined to
 new sights, and festivities; and the King thought it
 of moment to him to receive the respect and civility
 of any of the *German* Princes: and among Them,
 there were few more considerable in their Dominions,
 and none in their Persons, than the Duke of *New-*
burgh; who reckoned himself upon the same Level
 with the Electors. And the King was informed,
 " that the Emperor himself always treated him with
 " *Alteſſe*;" and therefore his Majesty made no Scruple
 of giving him the same. The matter of saluting the
 Princess Royal was of a new and delicate nature;
 that dignity had been so punctually preserved, from
 the time of her coming into *Holland*, that the old

Prince of *Orange*, Father of her Husband, would never pretend to it: yet that Ceremony depending only upon the custom of Countries, and the Duke of *Newburgh* being a Sovereign Prince, inferior to none in *Germany*, and his Ambassador always covering before the Emperor, the King thought fit, and her Royal Highness consented, that the Duke should salute her. And so all matters being adjusted without any Noise, the King, about the middle of *October*, accompanied his Sister by Water to *Dusseldorp*; where they arrived between three and four of the Clock in the Afternoon; and found the Duke and his Duchess waiting for them on the side of the Water; where after having performed their mutual Civilities and Compliments, the King, and the Princess Royal, and the Duke and the Duchess of *Newburgh*, went into the Duke's Coach, and the Company into the Coaches which were provided for them, and alighted at the Castle, that was very near; where his Majesty was conducted into his Quarter, and the Princess into Her's, the Duke and the Duchess immediately retiring into their own Quarters; where they new-dressed themselves, and visited not the King again till above half an hour before Supper, and after the King and Princess had performed their Devotion.

The Castle is a very princely House, having been the Seat of the Duke of *Gleve*; which Duchy, together with that of *Juliers*, having lately fallen to Heirs Female (whereof the Mothers of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, and Duke of *Newburgh*, were two) when all the Pretenders seizing upon that which lay most convenient to them, this of *Dusseldorp*, by

B O O K agreement, afterwards remained still to *Newburgh* ;
XIV. whose Father, being of the Reformed Religion in the late contention, found the House of *Brandenburgh* too strong for him, by having the Prince of *Orange* and the States his fast Friends ; and thereupon, that he might have a strong Support from the Emperor and King of *Spain*, became Roman-Catholic, and thereby had the Assistance he expected. At the same time he put his Son, who was then very young, to be bred under the Jesuits ; by which Education, the present Duke was with more than ordinary Bigotry zealous in the Roman-Religion.

He was a Man of very fine parts of knowledge ; and in his manners and behaviour much the best bred of any *German*. He had the flowing civility, and language of the *French*, enough restrained, and controlled by the *German* gravity and formality ; so that, altogether, he seemed a very accomplished Prince, and became himself very well, having a good Person, and graceful Motion. He was at that time above thirty, and had been married to the Sister of the former, and the then King of *Poland* ; who leaving only a Daughter, he was now newly married to the Daughter of the Landgrave of *Hesse Darmstadt*, who upon her marriage became Roman-Catholic. She had no eminent features of beauty, nor the *French* Language and Vivacity, to contribute to the Entertainment ; so that she was rather a Spectator of the festivity, than a part of it. The entertainment was very splendid and magnificent in all preparations, as well for the Tables which were prepared for the Lords and the Ladies, as That where his Majesty and his

Sister and the Duke and the Dukes only sat: the meals, according to the custom of *Germany*, very long, with several sorts of Music, both of Instruments and Voices; which, if not excellent, was new, and differed much from what his Majesty was accustomed to hear. There was Wine in abundance, but no Man pressed to drink, if he called not for it; and the Duke himself an Enemy to all excesses.

After two days spent in this manner, in which time the King made a great Friendship with the Duke, which always continued, they parted; and there being near the River, distant another short day's Journey, a handsome open Town of good receipt, called *Santen*, belonging to that part of the Duchy of *Cleve* which was assigned to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, the King resolved to accompany his Sister thither; where having spent that Night, the next Morning her Royal Highness, after an unwilling Farewel, prosecuted her Journey to *Holland*, and his Majesty returned by Horse to *Cologne*; where the same House was prepared for him in which He and his Sister had inhabited, whilst she stayed there. And by this time the end of *October* was come; which, in those parts, is more than the entrance into Winter. The Magistrates of the City renewed their civilities, and professions of respect to the King; which they always made good; nor could his Majesty have chosen a more convenient retreat in any place; and He, being well refreshed with the diversifements he had enjoyed, betook himself with great cheerfulness to compose his mind to his fortune; and, with a marvellous contentedness, prescribed so many hours in the day

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The King brings his Sister to *Santen* in the Duchy of *Cleve*; where they part; and the King returns to *Cologne*.

His way of life there.

B O O K to his retirement in his Closet; which he employed
XIV. in reading, and studying, both the *Italian* and *French* Languages; and, at other times, walked much upon the Walls of the Town (for, as is said before, he had no Coach, nor would suffer his Sister to leave him one) and sometimes rid into the Fields; and, in the whole, spent his time very well.

The Nuntio of the Pope resided in that City, and performed all respects to his Majesty: He was a proper and grave Man, an *Italian* Bishop, who never made the least scruple at his Majesty's enjoying the liberty of his Chapel, and the exercise of his Religion, though it was very public; so that in truth his Majesty was not without any respect that could be showed to him in those parts, save that the Elector never came to see him, though he lived within little more than an hour; which he excused by some indisposition of health, and unwillingness to enter into that City; though it proceeded as much from the fullness, and moroseness of his Nature, unapt for any conversation, and averse from all civilities; which made him for a long time to defer the payment of his small Quota, which had been granted to the King by the Diet, and was at last extorted from him by an importunity unfit to have been pressed upon any other Prince, or Gentleman. This Elector's defect of urbanity was the more excusable, or the less to be complained of, since the Elector *Palatine*, so nearly allied to the Crown, and so much obliged by it, did not think fit to take any notice of the King's being so near him, or to send a Messenger to salute him.

An account
 of the endeavours
 at Paris

Within a short time after his Majesty's return to

Cologne, he received news that exceedingly afflicted him, and the more, that he knew not what remedy to apply to the mischief which he saw was likely to befall him upon it. From *Paris*, his Majesty heard, that the Queen had put away the Tutor he had left to attend his Brother the Duke of *Glocester*; who remained at *Paris*, upon her Majesty's desire, that he might learn his Exercises. The Queen had conferred with him upon "the desperateness of his condition, "in respect of the King his Brother's fortune, and "the little hope that appeared that his Majesty could "ever be restored, at least if he did not himself become Roman-Catholic; whereby the Pope, and "other Princes of that Religion, might be united in "his quarrel; which they would never undertake "upon any other obligation: that it was therefore "fit that the Duke, who had nothing to support him, "nor could expect any thing from the King, should "be instructed in the Roman-Catholic Religion; "that so, becoming a good Catholic, he might be "capable of those advantages which her Majesty "should be able to procure for him: that the Queen "of *France* would hereupon confer Abbies, and Benefices upon him, to such a value, as would maintain him in that splendor as was suitable to his "Birth: that, in a little time, the Pope would make "him a Cardinal; by which he might be able to do "the King his Brother much service, and contribute "to his Recovery; whereas, without this, he must "be exposed to great necessity, and misery, for that "she was not able any longer to give him maintenance." She found the Duke more resolute than

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to pervert the
Duke of
Glocester
in his Religion.

B O O K she expected from his Age; he was so well instructed
XIV. in his Religion, that he disputed against the change; urged the precepts he had received from the King his Father, and his dying in the Faith he had prescribed to him; put her Majesty in mind of the promise she had made to the King his Brother at parting; and acknowledged "that he had obliged himself to his Majesty, that he would never change his Religion; and therefore besought her Majesty, that she would not farther press him, at least till he should inform the King of it." The Queen well enough knew the King's mind, and thought it more excusable to proceed in that Affair without imparting it to him; and therefore took upon her the Authority of a Mother, and removed his Tutor from him; and committed the Duke to the care of Abbot *Mountague* her Almoner; who, having the pleasant Abby of *Pontoise*, entertained his Highness there, sequestered from all resort of such Persons as might confirm him in his averfeness from being converted.

As soon as the King received this Advertisement, which both the Duke and his Tutor made haste to transmit to him, he was exceedingly perplexed. On the one hand, his Majesty knew the reproaches which would be cast upon him by his Enemies, who took all the pains they could to persuade the world, that he himself had changed his Religion; and though his exercise of it was so public, wherever he was, that Strangers resorted to it, and so could bear witness of it, yet their impudence was such in their positive averment, that they persuaded many in *England*, and especially of those of the Reformed Religion

abroad, that his Majesty was in truth a Papist: and his leaving his Brother behind him in *France*, where it was evident the Queen would endeavour to pervert him, would be an Argument, that he did not desire to prevent it: on the other side, he knew well the little credit he had in *France*, and how far they would be from assisting him, in a contest of such a nature with his Mother. However, that the world might see plainly that he did all that was in his power, he sent the Marquis of *Ormond* with all possible Expedition into *France*; who, he very well knew, would steadily execute his Commands. He writ a Letter of complaint to the Queen, of her having proceeded in that manner in a matter of so near importance to him, and conjured her “to discontinue the prosecution of it; and to suffer his Brother the Duke of *Glocester* to repair with the Marquis of *Ormond* to his presence.” He commanded the Duke “not to consent to any Propositions which should be made to him for the change of his Religion; and that he should follow the advice of the Marquis of *Ormond*, and accompany him to *Cologne*.” And he directed the Marquis of *Ormond* “to let Mr. *Mountague*, and whosoever of the *English* should join with him, know, that they should expect such a resentment from his Majesty, if they did not comply with his Commands, as should be suitable to his honor, and to the affront they put upon him.”

The Marquis behaved himself with so much wisdom and resolution, that though the Queen was enough offended with him, and with the expostulation the King made with her, and imputed all the

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The King
sends the
Marquis of
Ormond
into *France*
for him.

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King's sharpness and resolution to the Counsel he received from the Marquis and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, yet she thought not fit to extend her power in detaining the Duke, both against the King's and his own Will; and the Duke, upon the receipt of the King's Letter, declared "that he would obey his Majesty;" and the Abbot found, that he must enter into an absolute defiance with the King, if he persisted in advising the Queen not to comply with his Majesty's directions: so that, after two or three days deliberation, the Queen expressing very much displeasure at the King's proceeding, and that she should wholly be divested of the power and authority of a Mother, told the Marquis, "that the Duke might dispose of himself as he pleased; and that she would not concern herself farther, nor see him any more." And thereupon the Duke put himself into the hands of the Marquis; who immediately removed him from *Pontoise* to the House of the Lord *Hatton*, an English Lord who lived then in *Paris*; where he remained for some days, until the Marquis could borrow Money (which was no easy matter) to defray the Journey to the King. And then they quickly left *Paris*; and shortly after came to the King; who was extremely satisfied with the Marquis' Negotiation and Success; and kept his Brother always with him, till the time that he returned into *England*, the Queen remaining as much unsatisfied.

The Marquis
brings the
Duke to
Cologne.

Innocent the tenth was now dead; who had outlived the Understanding and Judgment he had been formerly Master of, and lost all the Reputation he had formerly gotten; and, as *Jehoram*, departed without

being desired. He had fomented the Rebellion in England by cherishing that in Ireland; whither he had sent a light-headed Nuntio who did much mischief to his Majesty's Service, as hath been touched before. The World was in great expectation who should succeed Him, when, one day, the Duke of Newburgh sent a Gentleman to the King to bring him the news that Cardinal Chigi was chosen Pope; "of which," the Duke said, "his Majesty had great cause to be glad; which the King understood not." But the next day, the Duke himself came to the King, and told him, "that he came to Congratulate with his Majesty for the Election of the new Pope, who called himself *Alexander* the seventh; and who, he said, he was confident, would do him great Service;" and thereupon related a discourse that had passed between Him and the new Pope, when he was Nuntio at *Cologne*, some years before; When They two conferring together ("as," he said, "there was great confidence, and Friendship between them") of the Rebellion in *England*, and of the execrable Murder of the late King, the Nuntio broke out into great Passion, even with Tears, and said, "it was a monstrous thing that the two Crowns should weary and spend each other's Strength and Spirits, in so unjust and groundless a War, when they had so noble an occasion to unite their Power to Revenge that impious Murder, in which the Honor, and the Lives of all Kings, were concerned; and, he said, the Pope was concerned never to let either of them to be quiet, till he had reconciled them, and obliged all Christian Kings and States, without

The Duke of Newburgh sends the King word that Cardinal Chigi was chosen Pope, and his discourse with his Majesty concerning the making some application to the Pope for supply and assistance.

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“ consideration of any difference in Religion , to join
“ together for the Restoration of the King ; which
“ would be the greatest Honor the Pope could ob-
“ tain in this World.” All which , he said , “ the
“ Nuntio spoke with so much warmth and concern-
“ ment , that he could not doubt, but that now God
“ had raised him to that Chair , he hoped , for that
“ end, he would remember his former opinion, and
“ execute it himself ; being ,” he said , “ a Man of
“ the most public heart and the most superior to all
“ private designs , that the World had :” the Duke
taking great delight to remember many of his dis-
courses, and describing him to be such a Man , as he
was generally believed to be for the first two years of
his Reign, till he manifested his Affections with more
Ingenuity. The Duke desired his Majesty to consider,
“ whether there might not be somewhat he might
“ reasonably wish from the Pope ; and if it were not
“ fit to be proposed as from his Majesty, he would
“ be willing to promote it in his own Name , having,
“ he thought , some Interest in his Holiness.” And,
he said , “ he was resolved to send a Person purposely
“ to *Rome* with his Congratulation , and to render
“ his Obedience to the Pope ; and that he would
“ instruct that Person in whatsoever his Majesty
“ should wish : and though he could not hope , that
“ any greater matter would be done towards his Ma-
“ jesty’s Restoration, till the Peace should be effected
“ between the two Crowns (which he knew the Pope
“ would labor in till he had brought it to pass) yet he
“ could not doubt but that, out of the generosity of
“ his Holiness, his Majesty would receive some

" Supply towards his better Support; which, for
 " the present, was all that could be expected: that
 " the Person whom he intended to send was a Jesuit,
 " who was at that present in *Newburgh*; but he had,
 " or would send for him: that though he was a Re-
 " ligious Man, yet he was a Person of that Experi-
 " ence, Temper, and Wisdom, that he had in-
 " trusted him in Affairs not only of the greatest
 " Secrecy, but in Negotiations of the greatest Import-
 " ance; in which he had always behaved himself
 " with singular Prudence and Judgment;" and he
 " assured his Majesty " he was equal to any Trust;
 " and if, upon what he had said and offered, his Ma-
 " jesty thought he might be of use to him in his
 " Journey, he would send him to *Cologne* as soon as
 " he came, that he might attend upon his Majesty,
 " and receive any Commands he would vouchsafe to
 " lay upon him."

Though the King had in truth very little hope that
 the new Pope would be more magnanimous than the
 old, and did believe that the Maxim, with which
Innocent had answered those who would have dis-
 posed him to Supply the King with some Money,
 " that he could not, with a good Conscience, apply
 " the Patrimony of the Church to the assistance and
 " support of Heretics," would be as current Divi-
 " nity with *Alexander*, and all his Successors, yet he
 could not but be abundantly satisfied with the kindness
 of the Duke of *Newburgh*, and could not conclude
 how far his Interposition might prevail upon a Temper
 and Constitution so refined, and without those Dregs
 which others had used to carry about them to that

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Promotion: therefore, after those acknowledgments which were due for the Overtures, his Majesty told him, "that he would entirely commit it to his Wisdom, to do those Offices with the new Pope as he thought fit, since he could expect nothing but upon that Account; and that he would do any thing on His part which was fit for him to do, and which should be thought of moment to facilitate the other Pretences." Whereupon the Duke told him, "that the bloody Laws in *England* against the Roman-Catholic Religion made a very great noise in the World; and that his Majesty was generally understood to be a Prince of a tender and merciful Nature, which would not take delight in the executing so much Cruelty; and therefore he conceived it might be very agreeable to his inclination to declare, and promise, that when it should please God to Restore his Majesty to his Government, he would never suffer those Laws to be executed, but would cause them to be repealed; which generous and pious Resolution made known to the Pope, would work very much upon him, and dispose him to make an answerable return to his Majesty. The King answered, that his Highness might very safely undertake on his behalf, that if it should be in his Power, it should never be in his Will, to execute those severe Laws: but that it was not in his Power absolutely to repeal them; and it would be less in his Power to do it, if he declared that he had a purpose to do it: therefore, That must be left to time; and it might reasonably be presumed, that

“ that he would not be backward to do all of that
 “ kind which he should find himself able to do ; and
 “ the Declaration which he then made, his Majesty
 “ said, that he would be ready to make to the Person
 “ the Duke meant to send, if he came to him :” which
 was acknowledged to be as much as could be desired.

Germany is the part of the World, where the Jesuits are looked upon to have the Ascendant over all other Men in the deepest mysteries of State and Policy, in-
 so-much as there is not a Prince’s Court of the Roman-
 Catholic Religion, wherein a Man is held to be a
 good Courtier, or to have a desire to be thought a
 Wise Man, who hath not a Jesuit to his Confessor ;
 which may be one of the reasons, that the Policy of that
 Nation is so different from, and so much undervalued
 by the other Politic Parts of the World. And there-
 fore it is the less to be wondered at that this Duke,
 who had himself extraordinary Qualifications, re-
 tained that reverence for those who had taught him
 when he was young, that he believed Them to grow,
 and to be improved as fast as He, and so to be still
 abler to inform him. Without doubt, he did believe
 his Jesuit to be a very Wise Man ; and, it may be,
 knew, that He would think so to whom he was sent ;
 and as soon as he came to him, he sent him to the
 King to be instructed and informed of his Majesty’s
 pleasure. The Man had a very good aspect, and less
 vanity and presumption than that Society use to have,
 and seemed desirous to merit from the King by doing
 him Service ; but had not the same confidence he
 should do it, as his Master had. And when he returned
 from *Rome*, he brought nothing with him from the

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The Effect of
 this

B O O K Pope but general good wishes for the King's Restoration, and sharp complaints against Cardinal *Mazarin* for being deaf to all Overtures of Peace; and that till then all Attempts to serve his Majesty would be vain and ineffectual; and concerning any Supply of Money, he told the Duke, that the Pope had used the same Adage that his Predecessor had done; and so that Intrigue was determined.

An insurrection
signed in England by
some of the
King's Party.

The rest and quiet that the King proposed to himself in this necessitated retreat, was disturbed by the impatience and activity of his Friends in *England*; who notwithstanding all his Majesty's Commands, and Injunctions, not to enter upon any sudden and rash Insurrections, which could only contribute to their own ruin, without the least benefit or advantage to His Service, were so pricked and stung by the influence of their Enemies, and the uneasiness of their own Condition and Fortune, that they could not rest. They sent Expresses every day to *Cologne* for more Commissions and Instructions, and made an Erroneous Judgment of their own strength and power, by concluding that all who hated the present Government, would concur with them to overthrow it, at least would act no part in the defence of it. They assured the King, "that they had made sufficient provision of Arms and Ammunition, and had so many Persons engaged to appear upon any day that should be assigned, that they only desired his Majesty would appoint that day; and that they were so united, that even the discovery before the day, and the clapping up many Persons in Prison, which they expected, should not break the design."

The King doubted they would be deceived; and that, though the Persons who sent those Expresses, were very honest Men, and had served well in the War, and were ready to engage again, yet they were not equal to so great a work. However, it was not fit to discountenance or dishearten them; for, as many of his Party were too restless, and too active, so there were more of them remiss and lazy, and even abandoned to despair. The truth is, the unequal Temper of those who wished very well, and the jealousy, at least the want of confidence in each other, made the King's part exceeding difficult. Very many who held correspondence with his Majesty, and those he assigned to that Office, would not trust each other; every body chose their own knot, with whom they would converse, and would not communicate with any body else; for which they had too just excuses from the discoveries which were made every day by want of Wit, as much as want of Honesty; and so Men were cast into Prison, and kept there, upon general Jealousies. But this reservation, since they could not all resolve to be quiet, proved very grievous to the King; for he could not convert and restrain those who were too forward, by the counsel of those who stood in a better light, and could discern better what was to be done, because they could not be brought together to confer; and they who appeared to be less desperate, were by the others reproached with being less Affectionate, and to want Loyalty as much as Courage: so they who were undone upon one and the same Account, were oppressed, and torn in pieces by one and the same Enemy, and could

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never hope for recovery but by one and the same remedy, grew to reproach and revile one another, and contracted a greater Animosity between themselves, than against their Common Adversary: nor could the King reconcile this distemper, nor preserve himself from being invaded by it.

Though the Messengers who were sent, were addressed only to the King himself, and to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and were so carefully concealed, that no Notice was taken or Advertisement sent by the many Spies, who were suborned to give Intelligence of any one Express that was sent to *Cologne*, yet they had commonly some Friend or acquaintance in the Court, with whom they conferred; and ever returned worse satisfied with those who made objections against what they proposed, or seemed to doubt that they would not be able to perform what they so confidently promised; and it was thought a very reasonable conviction of a Man who liked not the most extravagant Undertaking, if he were not ready to propose a better: so that his Majesty thought fit often to seem to think better of many things promised than in truth he did. The Messengers, which were sent this Winter to *Cologne* (who, I say still were honest Men, and sent from those who were such) proposed to the King, as they had formerly done, "that when they were
" in Arms, and had provided a place where his Ma-
" jesty might land safely, he would then be with
" them, that there might be no dispute upon Com-
" mand:" and in the Spring they sent to him, "that
" the day was appointed, the eighteenth of *April*,

Propositions to
the King to
this purpose
from England

“ when the Rising would be general, and many
 “ places seized upon, and some declare for the King,
 “ which were in the hands of the Army :” for they
 still pretended, and did believe, “ that a part of
 “ the Army would declare against *Cromwell* at least,
 “ though not for the King : that *Kent* was united to
 “ a Man ; *Dover-Castle* would be possessed, and the
 “ whole County in Arms upon that day ; and there-
 “ fore, that his Majesty would vouchsafe to be in
 “ some place, concealed, upon the Sea-Coast,
 “ which it was very easy for him to be on that day ;
 “ from whence, upon all being made good that was
 “ undertaken, and full Notice given to his Majesty
 “ that it was so, he might then, and not before, trans-
 “ port himself to that part which he thought to be in
 “ the best posture to receive him, and might give
 “ such other directions to the rest as he found neces-
 “ sary :” and even all these particulars were commu-
 nicated in confidence by the Messengers to their
 Friends who were near the King, and who again
 thought it but reasonable to raise the Spirits of their
 Friends, by letting them know in how happy a con-
 dition the King’s Affairs were in *England* ; and that
 his Friends were in so good a posture throughout the
 “ Kingdom, that they feared not that any discovery
 “ might be made to *Cromwell*, being ready to own
 “ and justify their Counsels with their Swords :” so
 that all this quickly became more than whispered
 throughout the Court ; and “ that the King was only
 “ expected to be nearer *England*, how disguised so-
 “ ever, that he might quickly put himself into the
 “ head of the Army that would be ready to receive

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" him, whereby all emulations about Command
" might be prevented, or immediately taken away ;
" and if his Majesty should now neglect this op-
" portunity, it might easily be concluded, that either
" he was betrayed, or that his Counsels were con-
" ducted by Men of very shallow capacities and
" understanding."

How weakly and improbably soever these prepa-
rations were adjusted, the day was positively appoint-
ed, and was so near, at the time when his Majesty
had notice of it, that it was not possible for him to
send Orders to contradict it : and he foresaw, that if
any thing should be attempted without success, it
would be imputed to his not being at a distance near
enough to countenance it. On the other hand, it
was neither difficult, nor hazardous to his Majesty,
to remove that reproach, and to be in a place from
whence he might advance if there were cause, or re-
tire back to *Cologne*, if there were nothing to do ;
and all this with so little noise, that his absence should
scarce be taken notice of. Hereupon, the Messenger
returned with the King's approbation of the day, and
direction, " that as soon as the day should be past,
" an Express should be directed to *Flushing* at the
" Sign of the City of *Rouen*" (a known Inn in that
Town) " to inquire for an *English-man*" (whose
name was given him) " who should be able to in-
" form him, whither he should repair to speak with
" the King."

The King
approves of
the day of
Rising.

Before the Messenger's departure, or the King's
Resolution was taken, the Earl of *Rochester*, who
was always jealous that some body would be General

before him, upon the first news of the general disposition and resolution to be in Arms, desired the King, "that he would permit him to go over in disguise, to the end that getting to *London*, which was very easy, he might, upon advising with the principal Persons engaged, of whom there was none who had not been commanded by him, or was not inferior to him in Command, assist them in their enterprize, and make the best of that force which they could bring together: and if he found that they were not in truth competently provided to sustain the first shock, he might, by his Advice, and Authority, compose them to expect a better conjuncture, and in the mean time to give over all inconsiderate Attempts; and there would be little danger in his withdrawing back again to his Majesty."

With this Errand the Earl left *Cologne*, under pretence of pursuing his business with the *German Princes*, upon the Donative of the Diet; for which he used to make many Journies; and no body suspected that he was gone upon any other design. But when he came into *Flanders*, he was not at all reserved, but in the hours of good Fellowship, which was a great part of the day and night, communicated his purpose to any Body he did believe would keep him Company, and run the same hazard with him; and finding Sir *Joseph Wagstaff*, who had served the King in the last War very honestly, and was then watching at the Sea-Coast to take the first opportunity to Transport himself as soon as he should hear of the general Insurrection (which all Letters to all places

The Earl of
Rochester
obtains leave
of the King
to go into
England in
order there-
unto.

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Sir Joseph
Wigglesworth
with him.

The King
goes from
Cologne to
Zealand.

mentioned as a matter resolved on) *Rochester* frankly declared to him what he was going about: so they hired a Bark at *Dunkirk*; and without any misadventure, found themselves in safety together at *London*: but many of those who should have been in Arms were seized upon, and secured in several Prisons.

The Messenger being despatched, the King, at the time appointed, and that he might be sure to be near at the day, left *Cologne* very early in the Morning, attended only by the Marquis of *Ormond*, and one Groom to look to their Horses: nor was it known to any Body, but to the Chancellor and the Secretary *Nicholas* whither the King was gone, they making such relations to inquisitive People, as they thought fit. The day before the King went, Sir *John Mennes*, and *John Nicholas*, eldest Son to the Secretary, were sent into *Zealand*, to stay there till they should receive farther Orders: the former of them being the Person designed to be at the Sign of the City of *Rouen* in *Flushing*, and the other to be near to prepare any thing for the King's hand that should be found necessary, and to keep the Ciphers; both of them Persons of undoubted fidelity.

There was a Gentleman who lived in *Middleburgh*, and of one of the best Families and the best Fortune there, who had married an *English* Lady, who had been brought up in the Court of the Queen of *Bohemia*, and was the Daughter of a Gentleman of a very noble Family, who had been long an Officer in *Holland*. The King had made this *Dutch*-man a Baronet; and some who were nearly acquainted with him, were confident that his Majesty might secretly repose

himself in his House, without any notice taken of him, as long as it would be necessary for him to be concealed. And his Majesty being first assured of this, made his Journey directly thither, in the manner mentioned before; and being received, as he expected, in that House, he gave present notice to Sir John Mennes and Mr. Nicholas, that they might know whither to resort to his Majesty upon any occasion. Upon his first Arrival there, he received intelligence, "that the Messenger who had been
 "despatched from *Cologne*, met with cross Winds
 "and accidents in his return, which had been his
 "misfortune likewise in his journey thither; so that
 "he came not so soon to *London* as was expected;
 "whereupon some conceived that the King did not
 "approve the day, and therefore excused themselves
 "from appearing at the time; others were well content with the excuse, having discerned, with the
 "approach of the day, that they had Embarked
 "themselves in a design of more difficulty than was
 "at first apprehended; and some were actually seized upon, and imprisoned, by which they were
 "incapable of performing their promise." Though this disappointment confirmed the King in his former belief, that nothing solid could result from such a general combination; yet he thought it fit, now he was in a Post where he might securely rest, to expect what the Earl of *Rocheſter's* presence, of whose being in *London* he was advertised, might produce. And by this time the Chancellor of the Exchequer, according to Order, was come to *Breda*; from whence he every day might hear from, and send to the King.

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There cannot be a greater Manifestation of the universal prejudice and aversion in the whole Kingdom towards *Cromwell*, and his Government, than that there could be so many Designs and Conspiracies against him, which were communicated to so many Men, and that such signal and notable Persons could resort to *London*, and remain there, without any such information or discovery, as might enable him to cause them to be apprehended; there being no body intent and zealous to make any such discoveries, but such whose Trade it was for great Wages to give him those informations, who seldom care whether what they inform be true or no. The Earl of *Rochester* consulted with great freedom in *London* with the King's Friends; and found that the Persons Imprisoned were only taken upon general suspicion, and as being known to be of that Party, not upon any particular discovery of what they designed or intended to do; and that the same Spirit still possessed those who were at Liberty. The Design in *Kent* appeared not reasonable, at least not to begin upon; but he was persuaded (and he was very Credulous) that in the North there was a foundation of strong hopes, and a Party ready to appear powerful enough to possess themselves of *York*; nor had the Army many Troops in those Parts. In the West likewise there appeared to be a strong Combination, in which many Gentlemen were engaged, whose Agents were then in *London*, and were exceedingly importunate to have a day assigned, and desired no more, than that Sir *Joseph Wagstaff* might be Authorized to be in the Head of them; who had been well known to

them; and he was as ready to engage with them. **B O O K**
 The Earl of *Rocheſter* liked the countenance of the **XIV.**
 North better; and ſent *Marmaduke Darcy*, a gallant The Earl of
 Gentleman, and Nobly Allied in thoſe Parts, to Rocheſter
 prepare the Party there; and appointed a day and deſigns for
 place for the Rendezvous; and promiſed to be him- the North;
 ſelf there; and was contented that Sir *Joſeph Wag- and Wagſtaff*
 ſtaff ſhould go into the Weſt; who upon conference into the Weſt.
 with thoſe of that Country, likewiſe appointed their
 Rendezvous upon a fixt day, to be within two miles
 of *Salisbury*. It was an Argument that they had no
 mean opinion of their ſtrength, that they appointed
 to appear that very day when the Judges were to
 keep their Aſſizes in that City, and where the Sheriff,
 and principal Gentlemen of the County were obliged
 to give their attendance. Of both theſe reſolutions
 the Earl of *Rocheſter*, who knew where the King
 was, took care to advertiſe his Maſteſty; who, from
 hence, had his former faint hopes renewed; and in
 a ſhort time after they were ſo improved, that he
 thought of nothing more, than how he might with
 the greateſt ſecrecy Transport himſelf into *England*;
 for which he did expect a ſudden occaſion.

Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaff* had been formerly Major-Ge-
 neral of the Foot in the King's Weſtern Army, a Man
 generally beloved; and though he was rather for
 execution than counſel, a ſtout Man, who looked
 not far before him; yet he had a great companion-
 ableneſs in his nature, which exceedingly prevailed
 with thoſe, who, in the intermiſſion of fighting, loved
 to ſpend their time in jollity and mirth. He, as ſoon
 as the day was appointed, left *London*, and went to

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The Rising
at Salisbury.

some of his Friends Houses in the Country, near the place, that he might assist the Preparations as much as was possible. Those of *Hampshire* were not so punctual at their own Rendezvous, as to be present at that near *Salisbury* at the hour; however, *Wagstaff*, and they of *Wiltshire*, appeared according to expectation. *Penruddock*, a Gentleman of a fair fortune, and great zeal and forwardness in the service, *Hugh Grove*, *Jones*, and other Persons of condition, were there with a Body of near two hundred Horse well Armed; which, they presumed, would every day be improved upon the access of those who had engaged themselves in the Western Association, especially after the fame of their being up, and effecting any thing, should come to their ears. They accounted that they were already strong enough to visit *Salisbury* in all its present lustre, knowing that they had many Friends there, and reckoning that all who were not against them, were for them; and that they should there increase their Numbers both in Foot, and Horse; with which the Town then abounded: Nor did their computation and conjecture fail them. They entered the City about five of the Clock in the Morning: they appointed some Officers, of which they had plenty, to cause all the Stables to be locked up, that all the Horses might be at their devotion; others, to break open the Goals, that all there might attend their Benefactors. They kept a good Body of Horse upon the Market-place, to encounter all opposition; and gave order to apprehend the Judges and the Sheriff, who were yet in their Beds, and to bring them into the Market-place with their several

Commissions, not caring to seize upon the Persons of any others. BOOK
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All this was done with so little noise or disorder, as if the Town had been all of one mind. They who were within doors, except they were commanded to come out, stayed still there, being more desirous to hear than to see what was done; very many being well pleased, and not willing that others should discern it in their Countenance. When the Judges were brought out in their Robes, and humbly produced their Commissions, and the Sheriff likewise, *Wagstaff* resolved, after he had caused the King to be proclaimed, to cause them all three to be hanged (who were half-dead already) having well considered, with the Policy which Men in such Actions are naturally possessed with, how he himself should be used if he were under their hands, chusing therefore to be beforehand with them. But he having not thought fit to deliberate this beforehand with his Friends, whereby their scrupulous Consciences might have been confirmed, many of the Country-Gentlemen were so startled with this proposition, that they protested against it; and poor *Penruddock* was so passionate to preserve their lives, as if works of this nature could be done by halves, that the Major-General durst not persist in it; but was prevailed with to dismiss the Judges, and, having taken their Commissions from them, to oblige them upon another occasion to remember to whom they owed their lives, resolving still to hang the Sheriff; who positively, though humbly, and with many tears, refused to proclaim the King; which being otherwise done, they like-

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wife prevailed with him rather to keep the Sheriff alive, and to carry him with them to redeem an honest Man out of the hands of their Enemies. This seemed an ill omen to their future agreement, and submission to the Commands of their General; nor was the tender-heartedness so general, but that very many of the Gentlemen were much scandalized at it, both as it was a contradiction to their Commander in Chief; and as it would have been a seasonable Act of severity to have cemented those to perseverance who were engaged in it, and have kept them from entertaining any hopes but in the sharpness of their Swords.

The Noise of this Action was very great both in and out of the Kingdom, whither it was quickly sent. Without doubt it was a bold enterprise, and might have produced wonderful effects, if it had been prosecuted with the same resolution, or the same rashness. it was entered into. All that was reasonable in the general contrivance of insurrection and commotion over the whole Kingdom, was founded upon a supposition of the division and faction in the Army; which was known to be so great, that it was thought *Cromwell* durst not draw the whole Army to a general Rendezvous, out of apprehension that, when they should once meet together, he should no longer be master of them. And thence it was concluded, that, if there were in any one place such a Body brought together as might oblige *Cromwell* to make the Army, or a considerable part of it to march, there would at least be no disposition in them to fight to strengthen his Authority, which they abhorred. And many did

at that time believe, that if they had remained with that Party at *Salisbury* for some days, which they might well have done without any disturbance, their Numbers would have much increased, and their Friends farther West must have been prepared to receive them, when their retreat had been necessary by a stronger part of the Armies' marching against them. *Cromwell* himself was alarmed; he knew well the distemper of the Kingdom, and in his Army, and now when he saw such a Body gathered together without any noise that durst, in the middle of the Kingdom, enter into one of the chief Cities of it, when his Judges and all the Civil power of that County was in it, and take them Prisoners, and proclaim the King in a time of full Peace, and when no Man durst so much as name him but with a reproach, he could not imagine, that such an enterprize could be undertaken without a universal Conspiracy; in which his own Army could not be innocent; and therefore knew not how to trust them together. But all this apprehension vanished, when it was known, that within four or five hours after they had performed this exploit, they left the Town with very small increase or addition to their numbers.

The unfortunate issue of it.

The truth is, they did nothing resolutely after their first Action; and were in such disorder, and discontent between themselves, that without staying for their Friends out of *Hampshire* (who were, to the number of two or three hundred Horse, upon their way, and would have been at *Salisbury* that Night) upon pretence that they were expected in *Dorsetshire*, they left the Town, and took the Sheriff with them,

BOOK XIV. about two of the Clock in the Afternoon: but were so weary of their day's Labor, and their Watching the Night before, that they grew less in love with what they were about, and differed again amongst themselves about the Sheriff; whom many desired to be presently released; and that Party carried it in hope of receiving good Offices afterwards from him. In this manner they continued on their march Westward. They from *Hampshire*, and other places, who were behind them, being angry for their leaving *Salisbury*, would not follow, but scattered themselves; and they who were before them, and heard in what disorder they had left *Wiltshire*, likewise dispersed: so that after they had continued their Journey into *Devonshire*, without meeting any who would join with them, Horse and Men were so tired for want of meat and sleep, that one single Troop of Horse, inferior in number, and commanded by an Officer of no credit in the War, being in those parts by chance, followed them at a distance, till they were so spent, that he rather intreated than compelled them to deliver themselves; some, and amongst those *Wagstaff*, quitted their Horses, and found shelter in some honest Men's Houses; where they were concealed till opportunity served to Transport them into the parts beyond the Seas, where they arrived safely. But Mr. *Penruddock*, Mr. *Grove*, and most of the rest, were taken Prisoners, upon promise given by the Officer that their Lives should be saved; which they quickly found he had no Authority to make good. For *Cromwell* no sooner heard of his cheap Victory, than he sent Judges away with a new Commission of Oyer and
and

and Terminer, and Order to proceed with the utmost severity against the Offenders. But *Roles*, his Chief-Justice, who had so luckily escaped at *Salisbury*, had not recovered the fright; and would no more look those Men in the Face who had dealt so kindly with him; but expressly refused to be employed in the service, raising some scruples in point of Law, whether the Men could be legally condemned; upon which *Cromwell*, shortly after, turned him out of his Office, having found others who executed his Commands. *Penruddock*, and *Grove*, lost their heads at *Exeter*; and others were hanged there; who having recovered the faintness they were in when they surrendered, died with great courage and resolution, professing their Duty and Loyalty to the King: many were sent to *Salisbury*, and tried and executed there, in the place where they had so lately triumphed; and some who were condemned, where there were Fathers, and Sons, and Brothers, that the Butchery might appear with some remorse, were reprieved, and sold, and sent Slaves to the *Barbadoes*; where their treatment was such, that few of them ever returned into their own Country. Thus this little fire, which probably might have kindled and enflamed all the Kingdom, was for the present extinguished in the West; and *Cromwell* secured without the help of his Army; which he saw, by the Countenance it then showed when they thought he should have use of them, it was high time to reform; and in that he resolved to use no longer delay.

The Design of the North, which was thought to be much better prepared and provided for, made less

The ill success
likewise of the

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design in the
North.

noise, and expired more peaceably. The Earl of *Rocheſter*, who ſaw danger at a diſtance with great courage, and looked upon it leſs reſolutely when it was nearer, made his Journey from *London*, with a Friend or two, into *Yorkſhire* at the time appointed; and found ſuch an appearance of Gentlemen upon the place, as might very well have deſerved his patience. There had been ſome miſtake in the Notice that had been given, and they who did appear, undertook for many who were abſent, that, if he would appoint another ſhort day for a Rendezvous, he ſhould be well attended. *Marmaduke Darcy* had ſpent his time very well amongſt them, and found them well diſpoſed, and there could be no danger in ſtaying the time propoſed, many of them having Houſes, where he might be well concealed, and the Country generally wiſhed well to the King, and to thoſe who concerned themſelves in his Affairs. But he took many exceptions; complained, as if they had deceived him; and asked many Queſtions, which were rather reaſonable than ſeaſonable, and which would have furniſhed reaſons againſt entering upon the deſign, which were not to be urged now when they were to execute, and when indeed they ſeemed to have gone too far to retire. He had not yet heard of the ill Succeſs at *Salisbury*; yet he did not think the force which the Gentlemen were confident they could draw together, before they could meet with any oppoſition, ſufficient to enter upon any Action, that was like to be dangerous in the end: So he reſolved to ſtay no longer; the Gentlemen being as much troubled that he had come at all; they parted with little good Will to each

other, the Earl returning through by-roads to *London*, which was the securest place, from whence he gave the King notice of the hopelessness of Affairs. If he had not been a Man very fortunate in disguises, he could never have escaped so many perambulations. For as he was the least wary in making his Journeys in safe hours, so he departed very unwillingly from all places where there was good eating and drinking; and entered into Conferences with any Strangers he met, or joined with.

When he returned from the North, he lodged at *Aylebury*; and having been observed to ride out of the way in a large ground, not far from the Town, of which he seemed to take some Survey, and had asked many questions of a Country-Fellow who was there (that ground in truth belonging to his own Wife) the next Justice of Peace had notice of it; who being a Man devoted to the Government, and all that Country very ill affected always to the King, and the News of *Salisbury*, and the Proclamation thereupon, having put all Men upon their Guard, came himself to the Inn where the Earl was; and being informed, that there were only two Gentlemen above at Supper (for Sir *Nicholas Armorer* was likewise with the Earl, and had accompanied him in that Journey) he went into the Stable; and upon view of the Horses found they were the same which had been observed in the Ground. The Justice commanded the keeper of the Inn, one *Gilvy*, who, besides that he was a Person notoriously affected to the Government, was likewise an Officer, "that he should not suffer those Horses, nor the Persons to whom they belonged,

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The Earl of
Rochester
returns to
London; whence he
advices the
King of the ill
success.

An accident
that befel him
in his return.

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“ to go out of the House, till he, the said Justice, came thither in the Morning; when he would examine the Gentlemen, who they were, and from whence they came.” The Earl was quickly advertised of all that passed below, and enough apprehensive of what must follow in the Morning. Whereupon he presently sent for the Master of the House, and no body being present but his Companion, he told him, “ he would put his Life into his hands; which he might destroy or preserve: that he could get nothing by the one, but by the other he should have profit, and the good Will of many Friends, who might be able to do him good.” Then he told him who he was; and as an earnest of more benefit that he might receive hereafter, he gave him thirty or forty *Jacobus's*, and a fair gold Chain, which was more worth to be sold than one hundred pounds. Whether the Man was moved by the reward, which he might have possessed without deserving it, or by generosity, or by wisdom and foresight, for he was a Man of a very good Understanding, and might consider the Changes which followed after, and in which this Service proved of advantage to him, he did resolve to permit and contrive their Escapes: and though he thought fit to be accountable to the Justice for their Horses, yet he caused two other, as good for their purpose, of his own, to be made ready by a trusty Servant in another Stable; who, about Midnight, Conducted them into *London-way*; which put them in Safety. The Inn-keeper was visited in the Morning by the Justice; whom he carried into the Stable, where the Horses still stood, he having

still kept the Key in his own Pocket, not making any doubt of the Persons whilst he kept their Horses; but the Inn-keeper confessed they were Escaped out of his House in the Night, how or whither he could not imagine. The Justice threatened loud; but the Inn-keeper was of that unquestionable Fidelity, and gave such daily demonstration of his Affection to the Commonwealth, that *Cromwell* more suspected the connivance of the Justice (who ought not to have deferred the examination of the Persons till the Morning) than the Integrity of a Man so well known as the Inn-keeper was. The Earl remained in *London* whilst the inquiry was warm and importunate, and afterwards easily procured a passage for *Flanders*; and so returned to *Cologne*.

As soon as the King received Advertisement of the ill Successes in *England*, and that all their hopes were for the present blasted there, he left *Zealand*, and, returning by *Breda*, staid in a Dorp near the Town, till the Chancellor of the Exchequer attended him; and then returned with all speed to *Cologne*; where his little Court was quickly gathered together again, and better disposed to sit still, and expect God's own time. His Majesty was exceedingly afflicted with the loss of so many honest Gentlemen in *England*, who had engaged themselves so desperately, not only without, but expressly against his Majesty's Judgment: and he was the more troubled, because he was from several of his Friends from thence advertised, "that all his Counsels were discovered; " and that *Cromwell* had perfect Intelligence of what "soever his Majesty resolved to do, and of all he

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The King
leaves Zealand; and
returns to
Cologne.

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“ said Himself; so that it would not be safe for any
 “ Body to correspond with him, or to meddle in his
 “ Affairs or Concernments: that his coming into
 “ *Zealand*, and his continuance there, was known
 “ to *Cromwell*, with all the particulars of his Motion;
 “ that many Persons of condition were seized upon,
 “ and imprisoned for having a design to possess them-
 “ selves of some Towns, and Places of strength;
 “ which Intelligence could not be given but from
 “ *Cologne*,” implying, “ that the miscarriage in all
 “ the last designs, proceeded wholly from the Treas-
 “ on of some Persons near his Majesty ” The King
 did not at all wonder that *Cromwell*, and his Instru-
 ments, took great pains to make it generally be be-
 lieved, that they knew all that was resolved or
 thought of at *Cologne*; but that any Men who were
 really devoted to his Service, and who had kindness
 and esteem for all those who were trusted by his Ma-
 jesty; should be wrought upon to believe those re-
 ports, very much disturbed him.

Whilst he was in this Agony, and immediately
 after his return to *Cologne*, a discovery was made of a
 Villany, that made him excuse his Friends in *England*
 for their Jealousy, and yet composed his own mind
 from any fear of being betrayed, it being an Impos-
 ture of such a Nature, as was dangerous and ridi-
 culous together. There was one *Manning*, a proper
 young Gentleman, bred a Roman-Catholic in the
 Family of the Marquis of *Worcester*, whose Page he
 had been. His Father, of that Religion likewise, had
 been a Colonel in the King's Army; and was slain at
 the Battle of *Alresford*; where this young Man, being

The discove-
 ry of the
 Treachery of
 Manning; and
 a particular
 account of it.

then a Youth, was hurt, and maimed in the left Arm and Shoulder. This Gentleman came to *Cologne* shortly after the King came thither first, and pretended, "that he had sold the incumbered fortune his Father had left him; upon which, he had enough to maintain him, and resolved to spend it in waiting upon the King, till his Majesty should be able to raise an Army; in which he hoped to have an opportunity to revenge his Father's blood;" with many discourses of that Nature; and he brought a Letter to Dr. *Earles* from his Uncle *Manning*, who was well known to him, to commend his Nephew to his conversation. He was a handsome Man, had store of good Clothes, and plenty of Money; which, with the memory of his Father, easily introduced him, and made him acceptable to the Company that was there. He knew most of the King's Party in *England*, and spoke as if he were much trusted by them, and held correspondence with them; and had every Week the Diurnal, and the News of *London*, which seldom else came so far as *Cologne*. He associated himself most with the good-fellows, and ate in their company, being well provided for the expense. By degrees, he insinuated himself with the Earl of *Rochester*, and told him, "that all the King's Party looked upon him, as the General who must govern and command them; for which they were very impatient: that he himself would be ready to run his Fortune, and attend him into *England*; and that he had two hundred good Men listed, who would appear well Mounted and Armed, whenever he should require them; and that he knew where

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" that Service." The Earl was ravished with this
discourse, and looked upon him as a Man sent from
Heaven to advance his designs; and asked him,
" whether he had been with the Chancellor of the
" Exchequer, and communicated all this to him?"
He said " he had, at his first coming to Town, waited
" upon the Chancellor; and intended to have spoken
" of this, and much more than he had yet spoken, if
" He had been vacant, or willing to hear: but he
" seemed to him too reserved; which he imputed
" then to some business that possessed him, and there-
" fore made him a second visit; when he found him
" with the same wariness, and without a desire to be
" informed by him concerning the Affairs of that
" Kingdom; so that he resolved to visit him no more."
In the end, he told the Earl, " that he would im-
" part a secret to him of the last importance, and
" which he had not yet had opportunity to inform
" the King of, and, he did believe, it would be the
" same thing to impart it to his Lordship as to his
" Majesty himself: the Sum was, that he was trusted
" by the young Earl of *Pembroke*, whose affections
" were entire for his Majesty, to assure the King of
" the same; and that though it would not be safe for
" him to appear in the head, and beginning of an
" Insurrection, he would advance it as much as if he
" were there in Person; and because he knew the
" West was better prepared to begin the Work than
" any other part of the Kingdom, he had caused
" three thousand pounds to be laid aside, and kept
" ready at *Wilton*, which should be delivered to any

“ Man, who, in the King’s Name, should require it
“ of such a Man” (naming a Person, who was known
to be much trusted by that Earl) “ upon delivery of
“ a private Token he produced out of his Pocket ”
(which was a clean piece of Paper, sealed with three
impressions of an Antic head in hard Wax) “ which,
he said, “ the Earl required him to present to the
“ King when he thought it might be seasonable.” He
added, “ that he would be glad to be himself in that
“ first engagement, and so to be present when that
“ Token should be delivered ; yet he considered, that
“ he was not enough known to have such a Secret
“ imparted to him, as the time of such an action
“ ought to be ; and therefore, if it pleased the King,
“ he would presently deliver that Token into his
“ Lordship’s hands ; who, he was confident, would
“ be the first that would have opportunity to em-
“ ploy it.”

The Earl had the Journey then in his head, which
he made shortly after ; and thought such a Treasure
as this would much advance the service. He made
haste to inform the King of the whole, that he might
have his approbation to receive the Token. To that
purpose, he brought the Man to the King ; who had
never before taken other notice of him, than for his
bringing the Diurnal constantly to be read to his
Majesty after dinner, or supper, as he received it. He
made a large Relation to the King of what the Earl
of *Pembroke* had commanded him to say, and pre-
sented the Token to his Majesty for the three thou-
sand pounds ; the manner of his discourse being such,
as the King had not the least suspicion of the truth

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BOOK of it. As soon as he left the King, the Earl brought
XIV. him to the Chancellor, conjuring him to use him with great kindness, and gently reproaching him for his want of Courtesy to him before; which he wondered at; for it was very true that *Manning* had visited him twice before, and it was as true, that he had received him with as much civility as was possible, having known his Father, and most of his Family, and was glad to see him frequently at Prayers, well knowing that he had been bred a Roman Catholic; and the young Man had seemed much pleased with the Reception he had given him. But from that time that he made that Relation concerning the Earl of *Pembroke*, which he repeated over to him as he had related it to the King, the Chancellor always suspected him; and could not prevail with himself to have any familiarity with him; which the other complained heavily of, and the Chancellor was much reproached for not treating a Person of so much merit, who had lost his Father and had been himself maimed in the King's Service, with more openness; for he did always use him with all necessary civility. But the Chancellor's knowledge of the Earl of *Pembroke*, and of the humor that then possessed him, and of the uneasiness of his own fortune, which did not make him at that time Master of much Money, besides that he believed that, if the thing were true, he should have received advertisement sooner of it from a Person who was most trusted by the Earl, and who corresponded very constantly with the Chancellor, made him distrust him. He therefore told the King, "that he doubted *Manning* had made that part of the

“ story to make himself the more welcome ;” which his Majesty did not think was a reasonable jealousy ; but wished him to use all the means he could to discover the truth. The Chancellor had no farther suspicion of him than upon the account of that story, nor the least apprehension that he was a Spy.

When it was publicly known that the King was absent from *Cologne*, at that time that he made his Journey to *Zealand*, in the manner that is mentioned before, the Earl of *Rochester* being departed from thence some time before, Mr. *Manning* appeared wonderfully troubled, and complained to some, “ that he being intrusted by all the King’s friends, “ who would not credit any Orders but such as “ should pass through his hands the King was now “ gone without imparting it to him ; which would “ be the ruin of his design.” He went to the Chancellor, and lamented himself, “ that there should be “ any Sword drawn in *England* before His ; his Father’s blood boiled within him and kept him from “ sleep.” He desired him therefore, “ that he would so “ far communicate the design to him, that he might “ only know to what part of *England* to transport “ himself, that he might be in action as soon as might “ be possible.” He could draw nothing from the Chancellor ; who told him, “ that he knew of no probability of any Action ; and therefore could give “ no advice.” Upon which he complained much of the Chancellor’s want of kindness to him : but he lost no time in following the King ; and having great acquaintance with *Herbert Price*, a Man much trusted by the Earl of *Rochester*, and that affected to know,

B O O K or to be thought to know the greatest secrets, he
XIV. prevailed with him, upon bearing his Charges, to accompany him, that they might find out where the King was, at least that they might be ready on the Sea-Coast, to transport themselves into *England* upon the first occasion. Whether by accident, or that the Earl of *Rocheſter* had made any mention of *Zealand* to Mr. *Price*, thither they both came; and seeing Sir *John Mennes*, and Mr. *Nicholas* there, they believed there might likewise be others of their *Cologne*-friends. *Herbert Price*, as he was a Man of a very inquisitive nature, watched so narrowly, that he found an opportunity to meet the King in an Evening, when he used to walk to take a little Air after the Day's confinement. The King, since he was discovered, thought it best to trust him; and charged him "not only to make no discovery, but to remove out of the Island, lest his being seen there, might raise suspicion in other Men." He did very importunately desire the King that he might bring *Manning* to speak with him, as not only an honest Man (as no doubt he thought him to be) but a Man of that importance and trust, as might contribute much to his present Service. But the King would by no means admit him, nor did he see him; yet afterwards, upon this reflection, his Majesty concluded that *Cromwell* came to be informed of his being in *Zealand*, without any reproach to Mr. *Price's* fidelity; which was not suspected, though his presumption, and importunity, were always very inconvenient.

Shortly after the King's return to *Cologne*, *Manning* likewise came thither with his accustomed confi-

dence. And in this time the Chancellor received Advertisement from *England*, "that he had no kind of trust from the Earl of *Pembroke*, but on the contrary, "had been turned out of his Service upon matter of "dishonesty; and that he was a loose Person, of no "Reputation:" and his Majesty was informed by others from *Antwerp*, "that every Post brought many "Letters for him, which were taken up there, and "transmitted to *Cologne*; and that he had Letters of "credit upon a Merchant of *Antwerp* for good Sums "of Money." All this raised a suspicion in the King; who gave direction to a trusty Person, who was purposely sent to take up all those Letters at *Antwerp*, which were sent thither from *England* for him, it being known under what cover they came, and likewise those which were sent from *Cologne* by him, his address being likewise discovered. By this means the Party returned with many great Packets both from, and to him; which being opened, and read, administered matter of great amazement. There were Letters from *Thurlow*, *Cromwell's* Secretary and principal Minister, containing the satisfaction the Protector received in the particular Intelligence he received from him, with short Instructions how he should behave himself. The Person employed had been so dexterous, that he brought with him *Manning's* Letters of three Posts, all full of the most particular things done at *Cologne*; and the particular words said by the King, and Others, that must needs affect those who should receive the Intelligence; but of all which there was nothing true; no such Action had been done, no such word spoken.

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XIV.

In one Letter, after such information as he thought fit, he said, "that by the next he should send such advice as was of much more moment than he had ever yet sent, and above what he had given from *Zealand*, and by which they might see, that there was nothing so secret at *Cologne*, of which he could not be informed, if he had Money enough;" and therefore desired the Bill for the thousand Crowns might be despatched. Together with this, the Letter of the subsequent Post was likewise seized upon; and by his Method, which was afterwards discovered, it was very probable that they were both sent at one and the same time, and by the same Post, though they were of several dates. That of the latter date was very long, and in it was inclosed an Overture or Design for the surprize and taking of *Plymouth*; in which there was a very exact and true description of the Town, and Fort, and Island, and the present Strength and Force that was there. Then a Proposition, that a Vessel with five hundred Men (there were no more desired) should come to such a place (a Creek described) and upon a sign then given, such a place in the Town should be first seized upon, whilst others should possess both the Fort, and the Island. The Names of the Persons who undertook to do both the one, and the other, were likewise set down; and they were all Men known to be well affected to the King, who, with the assistance of that five hundred Men, might indeed be able to master the place. For the better going through the Work when it was thus begun, there was an undertaking that *Sr. Hugh Pollard*, and other Persons named, who were all notable Men for

their Zeal to the King's Service, should be ready from the *Devonshire-side*, as Colonel *Arundel* and others from *Cornwal*, to second and support what was to be done. BOOK
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The Letter informed, "that when the King delivered that Paper to the Council" (which, he said, "he had received from a very good hand;" and then the Marquis of *Ormond* made this, and this objection, and others found this, and that difficulty in the Execution of the Enterprize, all which the Chancellor Answered very clearly, and the King himself said very much of the easiness of the Undertaking) "there was one difficulty urged, that the King himself appeared to be startled at, and looked upon the Chancellor; who arose from his place, and went to the King's Chair, and whispered somewhat in his Ear. Whereupon his Majesty told the Lords, that he had indeed forgot somewhat that the Chancellor put him in mind of, and for that particular they should refer the care of it to Him, who would take it upon him; and so the matter was resolved, and the Earl of *Rocheſter* undertook for the five hundred Men," and their transportation. *Manning* concluded, "that if he had Money, they should know constantly how this design should be advanced, or any other set on foot." Every Body was exceedingly amazed at this relation, in which there was not one syllable of truth. There had never such a Proposition been made, nor was there any such debate or discourse. There were in his Letter many vain insinuations of his Interest, as if he were never out of the King's company. Two of the King's Servants were sent to seize upon his Person, and his Papers; who found

B O O K him in his Chamber writing, and his Cipher and
XIV. Papers before him; all which they possessed themselves of without any resistance. There were several Letters prepared, and made up with the dates proper for many Posts to come, with information, and intelligence, of the same nature as the former.

The Secretary of State, and one of the Lords of the Council, were sent to examine him; to whom he confessed, without any reserve, "that the Necessity
 " of his Fortune had exposed him to that base condition of Life; and, to make himself fit for it, he had
 " dissembled his Religion; for, he said, he remained
 " still a Catholic: that he was sent over by *Thurlow*
 " to be a Spy wherever the King should be, and had
 " constantly sent him Intelligence, for which he had
 " received good Sums of Money; yet, that he had
 " been so troubled in mind for the vileness of the
 " Life he led, that he was resolved, by raising great
 " expectations in them, to draw a good Sum of
 " Money from them; and then to renounce farther
 " correspondence, and to procure the King's Pardon,
 " and faithfully to serve him." Being asked, why he made such Relations, which had no truth in them, he answered, "that if he had come to the knowledge
 " of any thing which in truth had concerned the
 " King, he would never have discovered it; but he
 " thought it would do no prejudice to the King, if
 " he got Money from the Rebels by sending them
 " Lies, which could neither do Them good, nor
 " hurt his Majesty; and therefore all his care was
 " to amuse them with particulars, which he knew
 " would please them; and so when he was alone he
 always

“ always prepared Letters containing such things
 “ as occurred to his Invention. to be sent by the suc-
 “ ceeding Posts and that he had never written any
 “ thing that was true, but of his Majesty's being in
 “ *Zealand*; which, he believed, could produce no
 “ prejudice to him.”

The King now discerned from whence all the Apprehensions of his Friends proceeded; and that they had too much ground for their Jealousies; for though none of his Counsels had been discovered, they who had received those Letters, might reasonably think that none of them were concealed; and might well brag to their Confidants of their knowing all that the King did. By this means, such particulars were transmitted to the King's Friends, as could not but very much amuse them, and, no doubt, was the cause of the commitment of very many Persons, and of some who had no purpose to suffer for their Loyalty. His Majesty took care to publish the Transactions of this Man, with the Method of the Intelligence he gave; by which his Friends discerned with what shadows they had been affrighted, and his Enemies likewise discovered what current Ware they had received for their Money: yet they endeavoured to have it believed that he was not a Man sent over by Them, but a Secretary in great Trust about some Person employed, whom they had corrupted: in which Men were likewise quickly undeceived, and knew that he was a Man without any dependance or relation to, or countenance from the Court: and the Wretch, soon after, received the reward due to his Treason.

BOOK

XIV.

Cromwell's
advantage
by the Ri-
sings of the
King's Party.

As the King's hopes were much Eclipsed in *Eng-land* by the late unseasonable Attempt, and the loss of so many gallant Persons, as perished, or were undone in it; so *Cromwell* advanced his own Credit, and was very much enriched by it, and more confirmed with those who were of doubtful Faith towards him. He lay before under the reproach of devising Plots himself, that the Common-wealth might be thought in danger, to the end he might have excuse to continue so vast Forces still in pay. Whereas it now appeared how Active, and confident the King's Party still was, and that they would not have had the presumption to make so bold an Attempt in the middle of the Kingdom, if they had not had good Assurance of being seconded; and therefore they were to look upon the Fire as only raked up, not extinguished. The Success and Triumph of a few desperate Persons at *Salisbury*, that had produced such a Consternation throughout the Kingdom, and would have endangered the security of the whole West, if there had not happened some Accidental confusion amongst the Undertakers, was evidence enough that there was not yet Force sufficient to provide for the Safety of the Kingdom; and therefore that it was necessary to make better provision for the quiet of every County, that it might not be endangered by every bold Attempt: and the Charge that this necessary Defence would cause, should in Justice be borne by those who were the Occasion of the Expence.

Thereupon he made by his own Authority, and that of his Council, an Order, " that all those who

" had ever borne Arms for the King, or had declared B O O K
 " themselves to be of the Royal Party should be XIV.
 " decimated, that is, pay a tenth part of all that His Order
 " Estate which they had left, to support the Charge for Decimat-
 " which the Commonwealth was put to, by the ing the
 " unquietness of their Temper, and the just Cause of King's Party
 " Jealousy which they had administered." And that
 the Public might lose nothing of what he had so
 frankly given to it, Commissioners were appointed in
 every County, to value what that tenth part of every
 such Estate did amount to; and that no Man might
 have too good a bargain of his own, every Man
 was obliged to pay as much as those Commissioners
 judged fit; and till he paid it, besides Imprisonment,
 which was a judgment apart, and inflicted once or
 twice a year, as the jealousies wrought, his whole
 Estate was sequestered. And in this decimation there
 was no consideration taken of former Compositions,
 of any Articles of War, or of any Acts of pardon and
 indemnity, which had been granted under their great
 Seal, without inquiry into their Actions, or so much
 as accusing any of them of any crime or guilt, or of
 having any Correspondence with the King or any
 body trusted by him; or that they were in any degree
 privy to the late designs or insurrection.

That this Order might be submitted to, and executed, He published a Declaration to make the Justice, as well as the Necessity of that proceeding appear; in which he did not only set down the grounds of his present proceeding against the Royal Party, but the Rules by which he meant to proceed against

His Declaration to justify it.

BOOK XIV. any other Party that should provoke, or give him trouble. It was a Declaration worded and digested with much more asperity against all who had served the King, than had ever been before published. Great Caution had been hitherto used, as if nothing more had been designed than to unite the whole Nation in the joint defence of the Common Interest, and as if a resolution had been taken to have abolished all Marks of disunion and distinction of Parties, and that all Men, of what Condition soever (except those who had been always excepted by Name) who would submit to the Government, should be admitted to have shares, and to Act parts in the Administration and Defence of it. But now notice was taken of "such an inherent Malignity, and irreconcilableness in all those who from the beginning had adhered to the King, and opposed the proceedings of the Parliament, towards all those who had served their Country, and vindicated the Interest of the People and Nation, that they declined the common Rules of Civility, and would have no Conversation with them; and, that the same Malice and Animosity might descend to their Posterity, they would not make Marriages, or any Friendship or Alliance with those who had been separated, or divided from them in those Public differences; and therefore they were not hereafter to wonder, or complain, if they were looked upon as a Common Enemy, which must be kept from being able to do Mischief; since they would always be willing to do all they could; and that they were not to expect to be prosecuted, like other Men,

“ by the ordinary forms of Justice, and to have their
 “ Crimes to be proved by Witnesses, before they
 “ should be concluded to be Guilty. If any desperate
 “ Attempts were undertaken by any of that Party
 “ to disturb the Public Peace; that it would be rea-
 “ sonable to conclude that they all wished well to it,
 “ though they appeared not to own it: that all Con-
 “ spiracies of that nature were acted in secret, and
 “ were deeds of darkness, and Men might justly be
 “ suspected and proceeded against as privy to them,
 “ by their common discourses, by the Company they
 “ usually kept, and by their very looks ;” with many
 other expressions, of such an unusual nature in the
 disquisition of Justice, and legal proceedings, that
 the King’s Party might reasonably conclude, they
 had nothing left that they could call their own, but
 must expect a total Extirpation, either by Massacre,
 or Transplantation.

But then the Declaration took notice likewise of
 “ the factions in the Army; that would not acquiesce
 “ in the Government established; but would have
 “ another found out, and formed according to their
 “ Levelling humors; all which distractions, to what
 “ other ends soever directed, must so weaken the
 “ Common-wealth, if not wisely prevented, as it
 “ must in the end be exposed as a Prey to their in-
 “ venerate Enemies; and therefore, that the same
 “ remedies must be applied to Them, as to the
 “ others;” with intimation clear enough, “ that the
 “ connivance they had formerly received, and even
 “ the Pardons that had been granted for their former

BOOK "Mutinies and Transgressions, were of no more
 XIV. "validity than the Articles, Promises, and Acts of
 "Indemnity, which had been granted to the Royal
 "Party: all which were declared to be void and
 "null, upon any succeeding Delinquency:" so that
 all discontented People who liked not the present
 Government, what part soever they had acted in the
 pulling down the old, whether Presbyterian, Inde-
 pendent, or Leveller, were left to consider of the
 consequence of those Maxims there laid down; and
 might naturally conclude, that they were in no bet-
 ter condition of security for what they enjoyed, and
 had purchased dearly, than those who by their help
 were brought to the lowest misery; though, for the
 present, none but the King's Party underwent that
 insupportable burden of Decimation; which brought
 a vast incredible Sum of Money into *Cromwell's*
 Coffers, the greater part whereof was raised (which
 was a kind of pleasure, though not ease, to the rest)
 upon those who never did, nor ever would have
 given the King the least assistance, and were only
 reputed to be of his Party because they had not assist-
 ed the Rebels with a visible cheerfulness, or in any
 considerable proportion; and had proposed to them-
 selves to sit still as Neuters, and not to be at any charge
 with reference to either Party; or such who had
 sheltered themselves in some of the King's Garrisons
 for their own conveniency.

The King
 caused an
 Answer to be
 made to it.

This Declaration was sent to *Cologne*; where the
 King caused an Answer to be made to it upon the
 grounds that were laid down in it; and as if it were
 made by one who had been always of the Parliament.

side, and who was well pleased to see the Cavaliers **B O O K**
 reduced to that extremity; but with such reflections **XIV.**
 upon the Tyranny that was exercised over the King-
 dom, and upon the foulness of the breach of Trust
 the Protector was guilty of, that it obliged all the
 Nation to look upon him as a detestable Enemy,
 who was to be removed by any way that offered it-
 self; many of which arguments were made use of
 against him in the next Parliament that he called;
 which was not long after.

THE
History of the Rebellion, etc.
B O O K XV.

Ezra III. 26.

And I will make thy Tongue cleave to the roof of thy Mouth; that thou shalt be dumb, and shalt not be to them a Reprover; for they are a Rebellious House.

Hos. x. 3.

For now they shall say, We have no King, because We feared not the Lord; what then shall a King do to Us?

Hab. 1. 10.

And they shall scoff at the Kings, and the Princes shall be a scorn unto them.

B O O K

XV

The King

stayed at

Cologne above

two years.

THE King remained at Cologne above two years, contending with the rigor of his Fortune with great temper and magnanimity; whilst all the Princes of Europe seemed to contend amongst themselves, who should most eminently forget, and neglect him; and whilst Cromwell exercised all imaginable Tyranny over those Nations, who had not been sensible enough of the blessings they enjoyed under his Majesty's Father's peaceable, and mild Government: so that, if the King's Nature could have been delighted to behold the Oppressions his Rebellious Subjects

engured in all the three Nations, he might have had abundant comfort, and pleasure of this kind in all of them: first, in seeing *Scotland* which first threw off, wantonly, its own peace and plenty, and infected the other two Kingdoms with its Rebellion, now reduced, and governed by a rod of Iron; vanquished and subdued by those whom they had taught the Science of Rebellion, and with whom they had joined, by specious pretences, and vows, and horrible perjuries, to destroy their own Natural Prince, and dissolve the Regal Government, to which they had been subject ever since they were a Nation: in seeing the pride and insolence of that People, which had used to practise such ill manners towards their King, suppressed, contemned, and exposed to slavery under the discipline, and castigation of Men who were very few of them born Gentlemen, but bred up in the Trades and Professions of Common-Men. These Men governed in their Houses, and prescribed new Laws to them to live by, which they had never been accustomed to, yet were compelled to obey, upon penalty of their Lives, and Estates; whilst their adored Idol, Presbytery, which had pulled off the Crown from the head of the King, was trod under foot, and laughed at; and their Preachers, who had threatened their Princes with their rude thunder of Excommunication, disputed with, scoffed at and controlled by Artificers, and corrected by the strokes and blows of a Corporal; and all this Subjection supported at their own charge, the fierce Governors being paid by them out of their own Estates.

BOOK

XV.

The Condition of Scotland under Cromwell.

He then beheld *Ireland*, that begun its Rebellion of Ireland.

B O O K with inhuman Massacres, and Butcheries of their
xv. peaceable and innocent Neighbours, after the other of *Scotland* was suppressed, or so compounded, that the blessing of Peace had again covered the three Nations, if this sottish People had not, without any provocation, but of their own folly and barbarity, with that bloody Prologue engaged again the three Kingdoms in a raging and devouring War; so that though *Scotland* blew the first Trumpet, it was *Ireland* that drew the first blood; and if they had not at that time rebelled, and in that manner, it is very probable all the miseries which afterwards befel the King, and his Dominions, had been prevented. These unhappy People, when they saw that they could not make War, but were beaten as often as encountered, would not yet make Peace; or if they did, they no sooner made it than broke it, with all the circumstances of Treachery, and Perjury, that can make any foul Action the most odious. And after they had, for their last preservation, returned to their obedience to the King, and put themselves again under his Protection, they quickly repented of their Loyalty, offered themselves to the Sovereignty of a Foreign Prince; and when they had seen their Natural King Murdered by his other Rebels, for want of that Assistance which they might have given him, chose rather to depend on the clemency of the Usurper, driving from them the Governor, and Government of the King: I say, his Majesty saw now this miserable People groveling at the feet of their proud Conquerors, reduced to the lowest desolation, and even to the point of Extirpation; the blood they had

wantonly, and savagely spilt in the beginning of the Rebellion, now plentifully revenged in the streams of their own blood, from one end of the Kingdom to the other; whilst those Persons who first contrived the Rebellion, and could never be reached by the King, and they who caused every Peace to be broken which had been made with his Majesty, with all the possible affronts to his Royal dignity and authority, after they had endeavoured, by all the treacherous Offices against the Royal Power, to reconcile themselves to their new Masters, were every day taken, and infamously put to death by Their authority who usurped the Government; who sold, as hath been said before, so many thousands of them to the services of Foreign Princes under whom they perished for want of Bread, and without regard: so that there is not an account in History of any Nation, the Jews only excepted, that was ever reduced to a more complete misery than the *Irish* were at this time. And all this was the more extraordinary, in that it was without the pity of any, all the world looking upon them as deserving the fate they underwent.

Lastly *England*, that seemed to glory in the Conquest of *England*, of those two Kingdoms, and to Reign peaceably over them, yielded a prospect too, full of variety. Though the King's heart was even broken with the daily informations he received of the ruin and destruction his faithful and Loyal Party underwent; and the butchery acted upon them, and the extreme Tyranny the Usurper exercised over the whole Nation, was grievous to him, yet he could not be equally afflicted to see those who had been the first Authors of the

B O O K
XV. public Calamity, now so much sharers in it that they were no more Masters of their Estates, than They were whom they had first spoiled; and that themselves were brought and exposed upon those Scaffolds, which they had caused to be erected for others; that little or no part of the new Government was in their hands which had pulled down the old; and that, after Monarchy had been made so odious to the People, the whole Wealth of the Nation was become at the disposal of a single Person; and that those Lords, without whose monstrous assistance the Sceptre could never have been wrested out of the hands of the King, were now numbered and marshalled with the dregs of the People: in a word, that *Cromwell* was not so jealous of any, as of those who had raised him; and contrived, and proposed nothing more to himself, than to suppress those, or to drive them out of the Kingdom, who had been the principal means to suppress the Royal Authority, and to drive the Royal Family, and all that adhered to it, into banishment.

This prospect the King had of the three Kingdoms during his residence at *Cologne*; but with those manifestations of God's Vengeance upon those ungrateful Nations, of which he had a most tender and compassionate feeling, he was not without some glimmering light to discern an approach of that recompence, which the divine justice usually assigns to those who patiently attend his vindication.

Cromwell, whose great heart was solicitous to extend the terror of his Name into Foreign Countries, by which method he thought to render the rough and stubborn humors of the People at home more obse-

quious to him, had in the beginning of the year 1655, after his dissolution of his refractory Parliament, sent two, very great Fleets to Sea; the one under *Pen*, consisting of about thirty Ships of War, with which there was likewise Embarked a Land-Army, consisting of four or five thousand Foot, and two Troops of Horse, under the Command of General *Venables*, a Gentleman of a good Family in *Cheshire*; who had served long in the Army in the condition of a Colonel, and was then called out of *Ireland* to command in this Expedition.

BOOK
XV.
Cromwell in the beginning of 1655 sent two great Fleets to Sea; the one under *Pen*, with a Land-Army under *Venables*.

Both these Superior Officers were well affected to the King's Service; and were not fond of the Enterprize they were to Conduct, the nature of which they yet knew nothing of. They did, by several ways, without any communication with each other (which they had not confidence to engage in) send to the King, that if he were ready with any Force from abroad, or secure of possessing any Port within, they would, that is either of them would, engage, with the power that was under their Charge, to declare for his Majesty. If this had been upon a joint, and mutual confidence in each other, and that both Fleet, and Land Forces, though the Body of Horse was small, would at the same time have set up the King's Standard, it might have been the foundation of some hopeful expectation. But neither of them daring to trust the other, the King could not presume upon any Port; without which neither had promised to engage; nor could he make out of the distinct Overtures (however he might hope to unite them) such a probable Attempt, after the miscarriage of so many,

B O O K as to Embark his Friends in. So he wished them to
xv. reserve their Affections for his Majesty, till a more proper season to discover them; and to prosecute the Voyage to which they were designed; from which he was not without hope of some benefit to himself; for it was evident *Cromwell* meant to make some Enemy, which probably might give his Majesty some Friend.

The other
 Fleet under
 Blake.

The other Fleet was not inferior in Naval strength, and power, but was without a Land Army; and that was committed to the Command of *Blake*; in whom *Cromwell* had all confidence. Neither Fleet knew what the other, or what itself was to do, till each of them came to such a Point; where they were to open their Commissions; and *Cromwell* had communicated his purpose for either to so very few, that, for many Months after they were both at Sea, no Body knew to what they were designed. Though the intercourse between *Cromwell* and the Cardinal was maintained with many Civilities, and some confidence, yet there was nothing of a Treaty signed; he resolving, as he professed, "to give his Friendship to that Crown that should best deserve it:" and, without doubt, both Crowns were amused with his preparations, and solicitous to know where the storm would fall.

Spain, that had hitherto kept *Don Alonzo de Cardenas* in *England*, after he had so many years resided there as Ambassador to the late King, believing they were less faulty in that, than if they should send another originally to *Cromwell*, now thought it necessary to omit no occasion to endear themselves to him: and therefore they sent the Marquis of *Leyda* with a splendid

The Marquis

Train, as extraordinary Ambassador, to congratulate all his Successes, and to offer him the entire Friendship of the Catholic King. The Marquis, who was a wife and a jealous Man, found by his reception, and *Cromwell's* reservation in all his Audiences, and the approaches he could make, that there was no room left for his Master; and so after a Month spent there, he returned to look to his Government in *Flanders*, with an expectation that as soon as any News came of the Fleets, they should hear of some Acts of Hostility upon the Subjects of *Spain*; and did all he could to awaken all the Ministers of that King to the same apprehension, and expectation.

B O O K
XV.
 of Leyda sent Ambassador by Spain to Cromwell, who after a Month returns to Flanders.

The two Fleets set out from the Coast of *England*; that under *Blake*, some Months before the other; and made it's course directly to the *Mediterranean*; being bound in the first place to suppress the Insolence of those of *Algiers*, and *Tunis*, who had infested the *English* Merchants, and were grown powerful in those Seas. When he should have performed that Service, he was to open another Commission, which would inform him what course he was to steer: the other Fleet under *Pen* was bound directly to the *Barbadoes*; where they were to open their Commissions, and to deliver Letters to that Governor. There they found, that they were to take in new Men for the Land-Army, and then to prosecute their course directly to the Island of *Hispaniola*. The Governor had Orders to supply new Men for the Expedition; and there were Ships ready for their Transportation, there being a marvellous alacrity in the Planters of those *Leeward* Islands, which were overstocked

The Fleet under Blake goes into the Mediterranean.

That under Pen to the Barbadoes:

B O O K with Inhabitants, to seek their Fortune farther from home. So that, after a shorter stay at the *Barbadoes* than they had reason to expect, having now found there two Frigates (which *Cromwell* had sent before to prepare all things ready, and to put several Shallops together, which were brought ready in quarters) and making prize of about forty *Dutch* Ships, belonging to their new Allies of *Holland*, for Trading thither (contrary to the Act of Navigation) about the end of *March* they set sail, with an addition of four or five thousand Foot for the Land-Army, towards *St. Christophers*; where, after a short stay, they received about fifteen hundred Men more: so that *Venables* had now under his Command a Body of above nine thousand Men, with one Troop of Horse more, which the Planters of the *Barbadoes* joined to him; and having a prosperous Wind, they came, about the middle of *April*, within view of *Sant Domingo*; which is the chief City and Port of the Island of *Hispaniola*.

Thence to
Hispaniola:

Their Orders. Their Orders from *Cromwell* were very particular, and very positive, that they should land at such a place, which was plainly enough described to them. But whether they did not clearly understand it, or thought it not so convenient, when they were near enough to make a judgment of it, they called a Council of War; and it was there resolved that General *Venables* should land in another place (which they conceived to be much nearer the Town than in truth it was) and from thence march directly to it, there being another Brigade of Foot to be landed, at a less distance from the Town, in a Bay, that should join with them; and join they did. But by the march which *Venables* had

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had made, in which he spent two days and a half in the Woods and uneasy Passages, and in the terrible heat of that Country's Sun, where they found no Water to drink, they were so dispirited before they joined with their Companions, that it was an ill preface of the misadventure that followed. The loss of that time in their Advance had another very ill effect. For the Inhabitants of the Town, that, at the first appearance of such a Fleet, the like whereof in any degree they had never seen before, had been seized upon by such a Consternation, that they despaired of making any resistance, when they saw their Enemies proceed so slowly, and engaged in such a March as must tire and infinitely annoy them, they recovered their Spirits, and prepared for their Defence. So that when *Venables*, upon the conjunction with his other Forces, and after having found some fresh Water to refresh his Men, advanced towards the Town, his Forlorne hope found themselves charged by a Party of Horse armed with long Lances, and other Arms, which they had not been accustomed to; so, tired and dismayed with their march and heat, they bore the Charge very ill and were easily Routed and Routed those which were behind them; and were, in that disorder, pursued till they came to their main Body; upon sight whereof the *Spaniard* retired without any loss, having left the Captain of the Forlorne hope, and above fifty of his Company, dead upon the place. The *English* retired back in great discomfort to the Bay, and the fresh Water River they had found there; where they stayed so long, that the General thought his Men not only enough refreshed, but enough con-

Venables
beaten by a
few *Spaniards*.

B O O K XV. **XV.** firmed in their resolutions to redeem the shame of their last disorder, having got Guides, who undertook to conduct them a nearer way to the City, and that they should not go near a Fort, which the *Spaniards* had in a Wood, from whence they had been infested. The Common opinion that the *Negroes*, Natives of those parts, are such Enemies to the *Spaniards*, that they are willing to betray them; and do any mischief to them, might possibly incline the *English* to give credit to those Guides. But they did conduct them directly to the Fort; near which an Ambuscade in the Woods discharged a Volly again upon the Forlorne hope, and fell then in upon them with such fury, that disordered the whole Army; which, though it recovered the Courage once more to make an Attempt upon that Fort, was again seized upon by a panic fear, which made them directly fly back to the Bay with the loss of above six hundred Men, whereof their Major-General was one.

He reimbarke,
and makes a
descent upon
Jamaica;
where he
succeeds.

This Fright they never recovered; but, within few days after, having undergone many distresses by the intolerable heat of the Climate, and the *Negroes* killing their Men every day, as they went into the Woods to find meat, they were, within five or six days after the beginning of *May*, compelled to reimbarke themselves on board the Fleet, with a thousand Men less than had been landed, who had by several ways lost their Lives there; for which they revenged themselves upon a Neighbour-Island, called *Jamaica*; where they made another descent, took their City, and drove all the Inhabitants into the Woods. And here they left a good Body of Foot consisting of three

or four thousand Men under the Command of a Colonel, to fortify and plant in this Island, a place fruitful in itself, and abounding in many good provisions, and a perpetual sharp thorn in the sides of the *Spaniard*; who received exceeding damage from thence; they who were so easily frightened, and beaten, when they were in a great Body upon the other Island, making afterwards frequent Incurfions, with small Numbers, into it from *Jamaica*; Sacking their Towns, and returning with very rich Booty. When *Venables* had put this Island into as good order as he could, he returned with *Pen* into *England*.

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That Fleet
returns into
England.

The other Fleet under the Command of *Blake* had better Success, without any misadventures. After he had reduced those of *Algiers*, where he Anchored in their very Mole, to submit to such Conditions for the time past, and the time to come, as he thought reasonable, he Sailed to *Tunis*; which he found better fortified and more resolved; for that King returned a very rude Answer, contemning his strength, and undervaluing his Menaces, and refusing to return either Ship or Prisoner that had been taken. Whereupon *Blake* put his Fleet in order, and thundered with his great Guns upon the Town; whilst he sent out several long Boats Manned with stout Mariners, who, at the same time, entered with very notable resolution into their Harbours, and set fire to all the Ships there, being nine Men of War; which were burnt to ashes; and this with the loss only of five-and-twenty of the *English*, and about eight-and-forty hurt, all the boats, with the rest of the Men, returning safe to the Ships. This was indeed an Action of the highest Conduct

The Fleet
under Blake
had better
success: forces
Algiers to a
Peace; enters
the Harbour of
Tunis, and
burns their
Fleet.

BOOK and Courage, and made the name of the *English* very
XV. terrible and formidable in those Seas.

Cromwell
 commits Pen
 and Venables
 to the Tower.

Sends recruits
 to Jamaica.

The Success of both Fleets came to *Cromwell's* notice about the same time, but did not affect him alike. He was never so discomposed (for he had usually a great command over his Passions) as upon the miscarriage at *Hispaniolas*. And as soon as they came on shore, he committed both *Pen* and *Venables* to the Tower, and could never be persuaded to trust either of them again; and could not, in a long time, speak temperately of that Affair. However, he lost no time in cherishing his infant Plantation in *Jamaica*; which many thought to be at too great a distance, and wished the Men might be recalled; but he would not hear of it; and sent presently a good Squadron of Ships, and a Recruit of fifteen hundred Men to carry on that work; and resolved nothing more, than to make a continual War from that place upon the *Spaniard*.

Lockhart sent
 by him Amba-
 sador into
 France; who
 finishes an
 Alliance there,
 begun before
 by the Agents
 of France in
 England.

And now the rupture with *Spain* could be no longer concealed. Therefore he sent Orders to *Blake*; "that he should watch the return of the Plate-Fleet, and do what mischief he could upon the Coast of *Spain*;" and gave directions to his Ships in the *Downs* to infest those of *Flanders*, which they had not yet done: what had been hitherto treated privately between Him and the Cardinal, was now exposed to the light. He now sent *Lockhart*, his Ambassador into *France*; who was received with great solemnity, and was a Man of great address in Treaty; and had a marvellous credit and power with the Cardinal. He finished there the Alliance with *France*. *Cromwell* undertook "to send over an Army of six thousand Foot, to be com-

"manded by their own Superior Officer, who was B O O K
 "to receive Orders only from Marechal Turenne:" and XV.
 when *Dunkirk*, and *Mardike* should be taken, they
 were to be put into *Cromwell's* hands. There were
 other more secret Articles, which will be mentioned.

Flanders had notice of this their new Enemy from
England, before they heard any thing from *Spain*,
 that might better enable them to contend with him;
 and *Don Alonzo* remained still in *London* without
 notice of what was done, till the Affair of *Jamaica*
 was upon the Exchange, and Fraternities entered
 into there for the better carrying on that Plantation.
 Nor was he willing to believe it then, till *Cromwell*
 sent to him to leave the Kingdom; which he did very
 unwillingly, when there was no remedy; and was
 transported into *Flanders* to increase the jealousies
 and discontents, which were already too great and
 uneasy there. The Prince of *Condé*, whose Troops,
 and vigor, were the preservation and life of that
 Country, was very ill satisfied with the formality
 and flegm of the Arch-Duke, and with the inactivity
 and wariness of the *Conde* of *Fuensaldagna*; who he
 thought omitted many Opportunities.

The Arch-Duke was weary of the Title of Go-
 vernor of the Low Countries and General of the
 Army, when the Power was in truth in *Fuensaldagna*,
 and nothing to be done without His approbation;
 and having by frequent complaints to *Madrid*, endea-
 voured in vain to vindicate his Authority, had im-
 plored his dismissal, and *Fuensaldagna* himself was
 as ill satisfied as the other two; and knowing well
 the defects of the Court, as well as the poverty of

Don Alonzo
 sent to by
Cromwell to
 leave *England*.

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Madrid, thought the defence of *Flanders* consisted most in preserving the Army, by being on the defensive part; and therefore, to gratify the coldness of his own constitution, he did by no means approve the frequent Enterprises and restless Spirit of the Prince of *Condé*; which spent their Men: and he thought the great charge in supporting the state and dignity of the Arch-Duke, was not recompensed by any benefit from his Service, besides the irreconcilableness with the Arch-Duke, by his having compelled him, by the Authority of the King, to dismiss the Count of *Swaffenburgh*; whom he loved of all the world; so that he was likewise weary of his Post, and desired his deliverance to be sent him from *Madrid*.

Don Juan of Austria made Governor of *Flanders*; and Carracena appointed to command the Army under him.

The Council there thought it necessary to gratify them both, and to remove both the Arch-Duke and the *Condé*; honorably to dismiss the former to return to his own residence in *Germany*, and to bring Don Juan of *Austria*, the natural Son of the King of *Spain*, who had passed through many employments with reputation, and was at that time General in *Italy*, to undertake the Government of *Flanders*, with such restrictions as the King of *Spain* thought fit; and at the same time, that the Conde of *Fuenfaldagna* should immediately enter upon the Government of *Milan*; which had been exercised for the last six years by the Marquis of *Carracena*; who was now to govern the Army in *Flanders* under Don Juan; and that the Marquis, who had the most disadvantage of this promotion, might be better pleased, they gave him such an addition of Authority, as could not but breed ill

blood in *Don Juan*; as it fell out afterwards. This Councel was taken, and to be executed in this conjuncture, when *France* and *Cromwell* were ready to enter *Flanders* with two powerful Armies, whilst it was, upon the matter, under no Command.

The King was yet at *Cologne*; and no sooner heard of the War that *Cromwell* had begun upon *Spain*, but he concluded that the *Spaniard* would not be unwilling to enter into some correspondence with him; at least, that their fears were over of offending *Cromwell*. He therefore sent privately to the Arch-Duke, and to *Fuenfaldagna*, to offer them his Conjunction. *Don Alonzo* was likewise there; and the long Experience he had in *England*, and the Quality he still held, made his judgment in those Affairs most esteemed by them. He, whether upon the Conscience of his former behaviour, by which he had disobliged both the late and the present King, or whether, by having lived long in a place where the King's interest was contemned, he did in truth believe that his Majesty could bring little advantage to them, had no mind to make a conjunction with him: yet they saw one benefit which they might receive, if his Majesty would draw off the *Irish* from the Service of *France*; which they had reason to believe would be in his power, because he had formerly drawn off some Regiments from *Spain*, whilst he remained in *France*. So that they were all of opinion, that they would confer with any body the King should Authorize to Treat with them; which when the King knew, he resolved to go to them Himself; and left *Cologne*, attended only by two or three Servants; and when

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The King had sent to the Arch-Duke to offer his conjunction before the Arch-Duke left Flanders.

The King comes into Flanders and treats with the

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XV.

Arch-Duke
near Brussels.

he came near *Brussels*, sent to advertise the Arch-Duke at what distance he was; and "that he would see him *incognito* in what place, or manner, he should think fit."

They either were, or seemed to be much troubled that the King was come in Person; and desired, that he would by no means come to *Brussels*; but that he would remain in a little vile Dorp about a league from *Brussels*; where he was very meanly accommodated. Thither the *Comde* of *Fuensaldagna* and *Don Alonzo* came to his Majesty; and the Arch-Duke met him privately at another place. The King quickly discovered that *Don Alonzo* had a private Intrigue with some Officers of the *English* Army, who were Enemies to *Cromwell* upon whose Interest he more depended than the King's. and offered it as great merit to his Majesty, if he could be able to persuade them to make up a conjunction with the King. This correspondence between *Don Alonzo* and those Levelers, was managed by an *Irish* Jesuit, who, by speaking *Spanish*, had got himself to be mutually trusted by them. The King pressed them "that he might remove his Family to *Brussels*, or to some place in *Flanders*, that it might be notorious that he was in Alliance with his Catholic Majesty; and then they should quickly see he had another kind of Interest in *England*, than what those Men pretended to, upon whom they ought not to depend; and they would quickly find, if his Majesty resided in that Country, his influence upon the *Irish* who were in *France*."

They would by no means consent that his Majesty

should remain in *Brussels*, as little at *Antwerp*, or indeed in any place, as taken notice of by the State to be there; "which," they said, "the King of *Spain's* honor would not permit, without showing those respects to him that he might live in that Grandeur as became a Great King; which the present state of their affairs would not permit them to defray the charge of." But they intimated, "that if his Majesty would chuse to remove his Family to *Bruges*, and remain there with them, so far *incognito* as not to expect any public expensive Reception, they were sure he would find all respect from the Inhabitants of that City." The King desired that some Treaty might be signed between them; which was committed to the wisdom of *Don Alonzo*; who prepared it in as perfunctory a manner as was possible; by which the King was permitted to reside in *Bruges*, and nothing on the King of *Spain's* part undertaken but "that whenever the King could cause a good Port-Town in *England* to declare for him, his Catholic Majesty would assist him with a Body of six thousand Foot, and with such a proportion of Ammunition, and so many Ships to transport that Body thither;" which was the Proposition the Levellers had made; and *Don Alonzo*, by making it the contract with the King, thought this way to beget an Intelligence between them and the Royal Party; of the power of which he had no esteem.

The King discerned that what they offered would be of no moment, nor could he make such confident Propositions of advantage to *Spain*, as might warrant him to insist upon large concessions. Besides, it

B O O K was evident to him, that the affairs in those Pro-
xv. vinces, which remained under *Spain*, were in so evil
 a posture, that, if they should promise any great mat-
 ters, they would not be able to perform them. How-
 ever, all that he desired, was to have the reputation
 of a Treaty between Him and the King of *Spain*;
 under which he might draw his Family from *Cologne*,
 and remain in *Flanders*, which was at a just distance
 from *England*, to expect other Alterations. So his
 Majesty readily accepted the Treaty as it was drawn
 by *Don Alonzo*; and signed it; and declared that he
 would reside in the manner they proposed at *Bruges*.
 Whereupon, after seven or eight days stay in that
 inconvenient manner, the Treaty was engrossed and
 signed by the King, the Arch-Duke, and *Don Alonzo*,
 in *April*, or the end of *March* 1657; the despatch of
 the Treaty being hastened by the necessity of the
 departure of the Arch-Duke, and the *Conde* of *Fuen-*
saldagna; who begun their Journey within two or
 three days after the signing of it; *Don Juan*, and the
 Marquis of *Carracena* being known to be on their
 way; and both, though not together, within few
 days Journey of *Flanders*.

The Treaty
 signed April
 1657: between
 Spain and the
 King.

The King re-
 moves his
 Family from
 Cologne, and
 comes to reside
 at Bruges.

The Treaty, as it was signed, was sent by an Ex-
 press into *Spain*, for the approbation and signature of
 his Catholic Majesty. The King with his small Train
 went to *Bruges*, and Lodged in the House of a Sub-
 ject of his own, the Lord *Tarah*, an *Irish*-man; who
 had been born in that Country, and inherited an
 Estate by his Mother. There the King stayed, till a
 handsome Accommodation was provided for him in
 that City, having sent to his Brother the Duke of

Gloceſter, who remained yet at *Cologne*, to come to him, and that his Family ſhould all come from thence. So that by the time his Maſteſty had returned again to *Bruffels*, to congratulate *Don Juan's* arrival, and ſpent three or four days there, he found himſelf as well ſettled at *Bruges* as he had been at *Cologne*; where, when his Family left it, there was not the leaſt debt remained unſatisfied; which, in the low condition his Maſteſty had been in, and ſtill was, gave reputation to his Oeconomy.

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As upon the diſſolution of the unruly Parliament, *Cromwell* had ſent out his two great Fleets, to propagate his ſame abroad, preſuming that by the Conqueſt which the one would make in the *West-Indies*, he ſhould have Money enough to keep his Army in obedience to him, and by the other's deſtroying or ſuppreſſing the Turks of *Algiers*, and *Tunis*, which were indeed grown formidable to all Merchants, he ſhould raiſe his reputation in *Chriſtendom*, and become very popular with all the Merchants of *England*; ſo he did not, in the mean time, neglect to take all the ways he could deviſe, to provide for his own ſecurity at home. Though he had brought the King's Party ſo low, that he had no apprehenſion of their power to raiſe an Army againſt him; yet he diſcerned, that by breaking their Fortunes and Eſtates, he had not at all broken their Spirits; and that by taking ſo many of their lives, their numbers were not much leſſened; and that they would be ſtill ready to throw themſelves into any Party that ſhould declare againſt him; to which, he knew, there were enough inclined.

BOOK

XV.

Cromwell
disturbed with
the divisions
in his own
Army.

But that which troubled him most, was the distemper in his Army; where he knew there were many Troops more at the disposal of that Party that would destroy him, than at his own. It was once in his purpose to have drawn over a Regiment of *Swiss*, upon pretence of sending them into *Ireland*, but in truth with intention to keep them as a Guard to his own Person; and to that purpose he had sent a Person to treat with Colonel *Balthazar*, a Man well known in the Protestant *Cantons*; but this came to be discovered: so he had not confidence to proceed in it. He resolved therefore upon an Expedient, which should provide for all inconveniencies, as well amongst the People, as in the Army. He constituted, out of the Persons who he thought were most devoted to himself, a Body of Major-Generals; that is, he assigned to such a single Person so many Counties, to be under his Command as their Major-General: so that all *England* was put under the absolute power of twelve Men, neither of them having any power in the Jurisdiction of another, but every Man, in those Counties which were committed to his Charge, had all that authority which was before divided among Committee-Men, Justices of Peace, and several other Officers.

Constitutes
his Major-
Generals.

Their Power.

The Major-General committed to Prison what Persons he thought fit to suspect; took care to levy all Monies which were appointed by the Protector and his Council to be collected for the Public; sequestered all who did not pay their decimation, or such other payments as they were made liable to; and there was no Appeal from any of their Acts but to the Protector himself. They had likewise a Martial power,

which was to list a Body of Horse and Foot, who were to have such a Salary constantly paid, and not to be called upon to serve but upon emergent occasion, and then to attend so many days at their own Charge; and if they stayed longer, they were to be under the same pay with the Army, but independent upon the Officers thereof, and only to obey their Major-General. A Horse-man had eight pounds a year; for which he was to be ready with his Horse if he were called upon; if he were not, he might intend his own Affairs. By this means he had a second Army in view, powerful enough to control the first, if they at any time deserved to be suspected. But he discerned, by degrees, that these new Magistrates grew too much in love with their own power; and besides that they carried themselves like so many *Bassas* with their Bands of *Janizaries*, towards the People, and were extremely odious to all Parties, they did really affect such an Authority as might undermine his own greatness; yet for the present, he thought not fit to control them, and seemed less to apprehend them.

When Admiral *Blake* had subdued the *Turks* of *Tunis*, and *Algiers*, and betaken himself to the Coast of *Spain*, and by the attempt on *Hispaniola* and the Possession of *Jamaica*, the War was sufficiently declared against the Catholic King, *Mountague*, a young Gentleman of a good Family, who had been drawn into the Party of *Cromwell*, and served under him as a Colonel in his Army with much Courage, was sent with an Addition of Ships to join with *Blake*, and joined in Commission of Admiral and General with him; *Blake* having found himself much indis-

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Mountague
sent to join
with *Blake*;
and put in
Commission
with him.

BOOK
XV.

An English
Squadron
lights upon
the Spanish
west-India
Fleet; takes
the Rear-Ad-
miral and
another Ship
off Cadiz.

posed in his health, and having desired that another might be sent to assist him, and to take care of the Fleet, if worse should befall him. Upon his Arrival with the Fleet, they lay long before *Cadiz* in expectation of the *Spanish* West-India Fleet, and to keep in all Ships from going out to give notice of their being there. After some Months Attendance, they were at last compelled to remove their Station, that they might get fresh Water, and some other Provisions which they wanted; and so drew off to a convenient Bay in *Portugal*, and left a Squadron of Ships to watch the *Spanish* Fleet; which, within a very short time after the remove of the *English* Fleet, came upon the Coast; and before they were discovered by the Commander of the Squadron, who was to the Leeward, made their way so fast, that when he got up with them (though he was inferior to them in Number) they rather thought of saving their Wealth by flight, than of defending themselves; and so the *Spanish* Admiral run on shore in the Bay; and the Vice-Admiral, in which was the Vice-King of *Mexico* with his Wife, and Sons, and Daughters, fired; in which the poor Gentleman himself, his Wife, and his eldest Daughter, perished: his other Daughters, and his two Sons, and near one hundred others, were saved by the *English*; who took the Rear-Admiral, and another Ship, very richly laden; which, together with the Prisoners, were sent into *England*, the rest escaped into *Gibraltar*.

The Ships which were sent for *England*, arrived at *Portsmouth*; and though they might with less charge have continued their Voyage by Sea to *London*,

The Bullion
taken con-

Cromwell thought it would make more noise, if all the Bullion, which was of great value, was landed at *Portsmouth*; from whence it was brought by Land in many Carts to *London*, and carried through the City to the Tower to be there Coined, as it was, within as short a time as it could be despatched; and though it was in itself very considerable, they gave out and reported it to be of much greater value than it was. But the loss to the *Spaniard* was prodigious; though most of what was in the Admiral was saved, and that only: and they saw the *English* Fleet still remaining before them, which was not like to miss the other Fleet they shortly after expected, in spite of all Advertisements which they were like to be able to send to it.

Cromwell now thought his reputation, both abroad and at home, so good, that he might venture again upon calling of a Parliament; and, by their countenance and concurrence, suppress, or compose those refractory Spirits, which crossed him in all places; and having first made such Sheriffs in all Counties as he thought would be like to contribute to his designs, by hindering such Men to stand against whom he had a prejudice, at least, by not returning them if they should be chosen, and by procuring such Persons to be returned as would be most agreeable to him, of which there were choice in all Counties; and having prepared all things to this purpose, as well as he could, he sent out his Writs to call a Parliament to meet at *Westminster*: upon the seventeenth of September, in the year 1656. When, upon the Returns, he found, that though in some places he had succeeded

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voyed from
Portsmouth
to London.

Cromwell
summons a
Parliament
to meet Sep-
30. 1656.

B O O K

XV.

Imposes a
Subscription
upon the
Members be-
fore they sit.

according to his wish, it was in others quite the contrary, and that very many Members were returned, who were Men of the most notorious malignity against him, he therefore resorted to his old security, to keep all manner of Persons from entering into the House, who did not first subscribe: "that they would act nothing prejudicial to the Government as it was established under a Protector;" which being tendered, many Members utterly refused, and returned into their Countries, where they were not, for the most part, the worse welcome for insisting upon their Privileges, and Freedom of Parliament.

The Proceed-
ings of this
Parliament.

The Major part frankly submitted and subscribed; some of them, that they might have the better opportunity to do mischief. So a Speaker was chosen; and at first they proceeded so unanimously, that the Protector began to hope that he had gained his point. With very little, or no contradiction, they passed an Act of Renunciation of any Title that *Charles Stuart* (for so they had long called the King) or any of that Family might pretend; and this all Men were bound to subscribe. With as little opposition, they passed another, whereby it was made High-Treason to attempt any thing against the life of the Protector. Then they passed several Acts for raising Money by way of contribution in *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, in a greater proportion than had ever yet been raised. They granted Tonnage and Poundage to the Protector for his life; and passed several other Acts for the raising of Monies; amongst them, one for obliging all Persons to pay a full year's Rent for all buildings which had been erected in, and about *London*, from
before

before the beginning of the Troubles; by all which ways, vast Sums of Money were to be, and afterwards were, raised. All these Acts they presented solemnly to his Highness, to be confirmed by his Royal Authority; and He as graciously confirmed them all; and told them, "that as it had been the custom of the chief Governors to acknowledge the care and kindness of the Commons upon such Occasions, so he did very heartily and thankfully acknowledge Theirs."

But after all this, he was far from being satisfied with the method of their proceeding: for there was nothing done to confirm his Personal Authority; and notwithstanding all this was done, they might, for ought appeared, remove him from being both Protector, and General. There had been for some time jealousies between Him and *Lambert*, who had been the principal adviser of the raising those Major-Generals; and being one of them himself, and having the Government of the five Northern Counties committed to him, he desired to improve their Authority, and to have it settled by Authority of Parliament. But *Cromwell*, on the other hand, was well contented that they should be looked upon as a public grievance, and so taken away, rather upon the desire of Parliament, than that it should appear to be out of his own inclination. But, hitherto, neither that design in *Lambert*, nor the other in *Cromwell*, nor any difference between them, had broken out.

The Protector himself seemed to desire nothing more than to have the Authority they had formerly given him, at least, that he had exercised from the

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xv.

time he was Protector, confirmed and ratified by Act of Parliament. And if it had been so, it had been much greater than any King ever enjoyed. But he had used to speak much, "that it was pity the Nobility should be totally suppressed; and that the Government would be better, if it passed another consultation besides that of the House of Commons." In matter of Religion, he would often speak, "that there was much of good in the order of Bishops, if the dross were scoured off." He courted very much many of the Nobility, and used all devices to dispose them to come to him; and they who did visit him were used with extraordinary respect by him; all which, raised an opinion in many, that he did in truth himself affect to be King; which was the more confirmed when many of those who had nearest Relation to him, and were most trusted by him, as soon as the Parliament had despatched those Acts, which are mentioned before, and that complaints came from all parts against the Major-Generals, inveighed sharply against the temper and composition of the Government, as if it was not capable to settle the several distractions, and satisfy the several Interests of the Nation; and by degrees proposed, in direct terms, "that they might invest *Cromwell* with the Title, Rights, and Dignity of a King; and then he would know, what he was to do towards the satisfaction of all Parties, and how to govern those who would not be satisfied."

A Proposition in the Parliament for *Cromwell* to be King.

This Proposition found a great concurrence; and very many who used not to agree in any thing else, were of one mind in This, and would presently vote

him King. And it was observed that no body was forwarder in that Acclamation, than some Men who had always had the reputation of great fidelity to the King, and to wish his Restoration: and it cannot be denied that very many of the King's Party were so deceived in their judgments, as really to believe, that the making *Cromwell* King for the present, was the best Expedient for the Restoration of his Majesty; and that the Army, and the whole Nation, would then have been united rather to restore the true, than to admit of a false Sovereign, whose Hypocrisy and Tyranny being now detected, and known, would be the more detested.

But the more sober Persons of the King's Party, who made less noise, trembled at this Overture; and believed that it was the only way, utterly to destroy the King, and to pull up all future hopes of the Royal Family by the Roots. They saw all Men even already tired in their hopes; and that which was left of Spirit in them, was from the horror they had of the confusion of the present Government; that very many, who had sustained the King's Quarrel in the beginning, were dead; that the present King, by his long absence out of the Kingdom, was known to very few; so that there was too much reason to fear, that much of that Affection that appeared under the notion of Allegiance to the King, was more directed to the Monarchy than to the Person; and that if *Cromwell* were once made King, and so the Government run again in the old Channel, though those who were in love with a Republic would possibly fall from him, he would receive abundant reparation of strength by the

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Access of those who preferred the Monarchy, and which probably would reconcile most Men of Estates to an absolute acquiescence, if not to an entire submission; that the Nobility, which being excluded to a Man, and deprived of all the Rights and Privileges due to them by their Birth-right, and so Enemies irreconcilable to the present Government, would, by this alteration, find themselves in their right places, and be glad to adhere to the Name of a King, how unlawful a one soever; and there was an Act of Parliament still in force, that was made in the eleventh year of King *Harry* the seventh, which seemed to provide absolute Indemnity to such submission. And there was, without doubt, at that time, too much propension in too many of the Nobility, to ransom themselves at the charge of their Lawful Sovereign. And therefore they who made these prudent recollections, used all the ways they could to prevent this design, and to divert any such Vote in the House.

Lambert and
his Party
oppose this
Overture:

On the other side, *Lambert*, who was the second Man of power in the Army, and many other Officers of account and interest, besides the Country-Members, opposed this Overture with great bitterness, and indignation: some of them said directly, “that if, “contrary to their Oaths and Engagements and contrary to the end, for obtaining whereof they had “spent so much blood and treasure, they must at last “return and submit to the old Government, and live “again under a King, they would chuse much rather “to obey the true and lawful Heir to the Crown, “who was descended from a long succession of Kings “who had managed the Sceptre over the Nation,

“ than to submit to a Person who at best was but their
 “ equal, and raised by themselves from the same
 “ degree of which they all were, and by the trust they
 “ had reposed in him, had raised himself above them.”

That which put an end to the present Debate was (and which was as wonderful as any thing) that some of his own Family, who had grown up under him, and had their whole dependance upon him, as *Desborough, Fleetwood, Whaley*, and others, as passionately contradicted the motion, as any of the other Officers; and confidently undertook to know, “ that himself
 “ would never consent to it; and therefore that it
 “ was very strange that any Men should importune
 “ the putting such a Question, before they knew that
 “ he would accept it, unless they took this way to
 “ destroy him.” Upon this (for which the Undertakers received no thanks) the first Debate was put off, till farther consideration.

And some of
 Cromwell's
 own Relations.

The Debate was resumed again the next day, with the same warmth, the same Persons still of the same opinion they had been before; most of the Officers of the Army, as well as they who were the great Dependents upon, and Creatures of *Cromwell*, as passionately opposed the making him King, as *Lambert* and the rest did, who looked to be successive Protectors after his decease; only it was observed, that they who the day before had undertaken, that he himself would never endure it (which had especially made the pause at that time) urged that Argument no more; but inveighed still against it as a Monstrous thing, and that which would infallibly ruin him. But most of those of his Privy-Council, and others nearest his trust,

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A Committee
appointed to
confer with
Cromwell
about it.

He gives them
Audience, and
they offer him
their reasons.

were as violent and as positive for the declaring him King, and much the Major part of the House concurred in the same opinion; and notwithstanding all was said to the contrary, they appointed a Committee of several of the most eminent Members of the House to wait upon him, and to inform him of "the very earnest desire of the House, that he would take upon him the Title of King; and if they should find any aversion in him, that they should then enlarge in giving him those reasons, which had been offered in the House, and which had swayed the House to that resolution, which they hoped would have the same Influence upon his Highness."

He gave them Audience in the Painted Chamber, when they made the bare Overture to him, as the desire of his Parliament; at which he seemed surprised; and told them, "he wondered how any such thing came into their minds; that it was neither fit for Them to offer, nor Him to receive; that he was sure they could discover no such Ambition in him, and that his Conscience would not give him leave ever to consent to own that Title." They, who were well prepared to expect such an Answer, told him, "that they hoped, he would not so suddenly give a positive denial to what the Parliament had desired upon so long, and mature deliberation; that They, who knew his modesty well, and that he more affected to deserve the highest Titles than to wear them, were appointed to offer many reasons, which had induced the House to make this request to him; which when he had vouchsafed to hear, they hoped the same impression would be made upon Him, that had been made

“ upon Them in the House.” He was too desirous to give the Parliament all the Satisfaction he could with a good Conscience, to refuse to hear whatever they thought fit to say to him; and so appointed them another day to attend him in the same place, which they accordingly did.

When they came to him again, they all successively entertained him with long Harangues setting out “ the nature of the *English* People, and the nature of “ the Government to which they had been accustomed, and under which they had flourished from “ the time they had been a People: that though the “ extreme sufferings they had undergone by corrupt “ Ministers, under negligent, and tyrannical Kings “ had transported them to throw off the Government itself, as well as to inflict Justice upon the Persons of the Offenders; yet they found by experience, “ that no other Government would so well fit the “ Nation, as that to which it had been accustomed: “ that, notwithstanding the infinite pains his Highness “ had taken, and which had been crowned, even with “ miraculous success, by the immediate blessing of “ Divine Providence upon all his Actions and all his “ Counsels, there remained still a restless and unquiet “ Spirit in Men, that threatened the public Peace; “ and that it was most apparent, by the daily Combinations and Conspiracies against the present Government, how just and gentle and mild soever, “ that the heart of the Nation was devoted to the old “ form, with which it was acquainted; and that it “ was the love of that, not the Affection to the young “ Man who pretended a title to it, and was known to

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“ no body, which disposed so many to wish for the
“ return of it: that the Name and Title of a Protector
“ was never known to this Kingdom, but in the
“ hands of a Subject, during the Reign of an infant
“ Sovereign; and therefore, that the Laws gave little
“ respect to him, but were always executed in the
“ Name of the King, how young soever, and how
“ unfit soever to govern: that whatsoever concerned
“ the Rights of any Family, or any personal pretence,
“ was well and safely over; the Nation was united,
“ and of one mind in the rejection of the old Line;
“ there was no danger of it; but no body could say,
“ that they were of one mind in the rejection of the
“ old form of Government; to which they were still
“ most addicted; therefore, they besought him,
“ out of his love and tenderness to the Common-
“ wealth, and for the preservation of the Nation,
“ which had got so much renown and glory under his
“ Conduct, that he would take that Name and Title
“ which had ever presided over it, and by which as he
“ could establish a firm Peace at home, so he would
“ find his fame and honor more improved abroad;
“ and that those very Princes and Kings, who, out of
“ admiration of his Virtue and noble Actions, had con-
“ tracted a reverence for his Person, and an impatient
“ desire of his friendship, would look upon him with
“ much more veneration, when they saw him clothed
“ with the same Majesty, and as much their equal in
“ Title as in merit; and would with much more ala-
“ crity renew the old Alliances with *England*, when
“ they were renewed in the old form, and under the
“ old title, which would make them durable; since no

“ Foreign Prince could presume to take upon him
“ to judge of right of Succession ; which had been
“ frequently changed in all Kingdoms, not only upon
“ the expiration of a Line, but upon deprivation
“ and deposition; in such manner as was most for
“ the good and benefit of the People ; of which there
“ was a fresh Instance in their own Eyes, in the
“ Kingdom of *Portugal*; where the Duke of *Braganza*,
“ by the Election of the People, assumed the Crown,
“ and Title of King, from the King of *Spain*; who
“ enjoyed it quietly, and without Interruption,
“ during three Descents ; and he was acknowledged
“ as Sovereign of that Kingdom by the late King ;
“ who received his Ambassadors accordingly.”

Cromwell heard these and the like Arguments with great attention (and wanted not inclination to have concurred with them ; he thanked them “ for the pains they had taken) to which he would not take upon him to give a present Answer ; that he would consider of all they had said to him , and resort to God for Counsel; and then he would send for them, acquaint them with his Resolution;” and so they parted, all Men standing at gaze, and in terrible suspense , according to their several hopes and fears, till they knew what he would determine. All the dispute was now within his own Chamber. There is no question the Man was in great agony, and in his own mind did heartily desire to be King, and thought it the only way to be safe. And it is confidently believed, that upon some Addresses he had formerly made to some principal Noble-Men of the Kingdom. and some Friendly Expostulations he had by himself,

■ O O R or some Friend, with them, why they reserved them
 xv. selves, and would have no Communication or acquaintance with him, the Answer from them all severally (for such discourses could be held but with one at a time) was "that if he would make himself king, they
 " should easily know what they had to do, but they
 " knew nothing of the submission and obedience
 " which they were to pay to a Protector;" and that these returns first disposed him to that Ambition.

He was not terrified with the opposition that *Lambert* gave him; whom he now looked upon as a declared and mortal Enemy, and one whom he must destroy, that he might not be destroyed by him: nor did he much consider those other Officers of the Army, who in the House concurred with *Lambert*, whose Interest he did not believe to be great; and if it were, he thought he should quickly reduce them, as soon as *Lambert* should be disgraced, and his power taken from him. But he trembled at the obstinacy of those who, he knew, loved him; his Brother *Desborough*, and the rest, who depended wholly upon him, and his Greatness, and who did not with his Power and Authority less absolute than it was. And that these Men should, with that virulence, withstand this promotion, grieved him to the heart. He conferred with them severally, and endeavoured, by all the ways he could, to convert them. But they were all inexorable; and told him resolutely, "that
 " they could do him no good, if they should adhere
 " to him; and therefore, they were resolved for their
 " own Interest to leave him, and do the utmost
 " they could against him, from the time he assumed
 " that Title."

It was reported that an Officer of Name, in the Eclaircissement upon the Subject, told him resolutely and vehemently, "that if ever he took the Title of King upon him, he would kill him." Certain it is that *Cromwell* was informed, and gave credit to it, "that there were a number of Men, who bound themselves by Oath to kill him, within so many hours after he should accept that Title. They who were very near him, said, that in this perplexity he revolved his former Dream, or Apparition, that had first informed, and promised him the high Fortune to which he was already arrived, and which was generally spoken of even from the beginning of the Troubles, and when he was not in a posture that promised such exaltation; and that he then observed, it had only declared, "that he should be the greatest Man in *England*, and should be near to be King;" which seemed to imply that he should be only near, and never actually attain the Crown. Upon the whole matter, after a great distraction of mind, which was manifest in his Countenance to all who then saw him, notwithstanding his Science in dissimulation, his courage failed him; and after he had spent some days very uneasily, he sent for the Committee of Parliament to attend him; and, as his looks were extremely discomposed, and discovered a mind full of trouble, and irresolution, so his words were broken and disjointed, without method, and full of pauses; with frequent mention of God and his gracious dispensation, he concluded, "that he could not, with a good Conscience, accept the Government under the Title of a King.

The refuses
the Title of
King.

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Many werethen of opinion, that his Genius at that time forlook him, and yielded to the King's spirit, and that his Reign was near its expiration ; and that if his own Courage had not failed , he would easily have mastered all opposition ; that there were many Officers of the Army, who would not have left him, who were for Kingly Government in their own affections ; and that the greatest Factions in Religion rather promised themselves Protection from a single Person, than from a Parliament, or a new numerous Council : that the first Motion for the making him King, was made by one of the most wealthy Aldermen of the City of *London* , and who served then for the City in Parliament ; which was an Argument that that potent Body stood well affected to that Government, and would have joined with him in the defence of it. Others were as confident, that he did very wisely to decline it ; and that, if he had accepted it, he could not have lived many days after. The truth is, the danger was only in some present Assassination, and desperate Attempt upon his Person , not from a Revolt of the Army from him ; which no particular Man had Interest enough to corrupt. And he might have secured himself, probably, for some time, from such an Assault ; and when such designs are deferred, they are commonly discovered ; as appeared afterwards, in many Conspiracies against his Life.

His Interest and Power over the Army was so great, that he had upon the sudden removed many of those Officers who had the greatest Names in the Factions of Religion, as *Harrison*, *Rich*, and others ; who, as soon as they were removed, and their

Regiments conferred on others, were found to be of no signification, or influence. And it could have been no hard matter for him, upon very few days warning, to have so Quartered, and Modelled his Troops, as to have secured him in any enterprize he would undertake. And, it may be, there were more Men scandalized at his Usurping more than the Royal Authority, than would have been at his Assumption of the Royal Title too. And therefore they who at that time exercised their thoughts with most sagacity, looked upon that refusal of his as an immediate Act of Almighty God towards the King's Restoration; and many of the soberest Men in the Nation confessed, after the King's Return, that their dejected Spirits were wonderfully raised, and their hopes revived, by that insatiation of his.

But his modesty, or his wisdom, or his fear in the refusing that supreme Title, seemed not to be attended with the least disadvantage to him. They who had most signally opposed it, were so satisfied that the danger they most apprehended was over, that they cared not to cross any thing else that was proposed towards his greatness; which might be their own another day: and they who had carried on the other design, and thereby, as they thought, obliged him, resolved now to give him all the Power which they knew he did desire, and leave it to his own time, when with less hesitation he might assume the Title too. And so they voted, that he should enjoy the Title and Authority he had already; which they enlarged in many particulars, beyond what it was by the first Instrument of Government, by another Instru-

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B O O K ment, which they called the humble *Petition* and *Ad-*
XV. *vice*; in which they granted him not only that Au-
 thority for his life, but power by his last Will and
 Testament, and in the presence of such a number of
 Witnesses, to make choice of, and to declare his own
 Successor; which power should never be granted to
 any other Protector than himself. And when they
 had digested and agreed upon this Writing, at the
 passing whereof *Lambert* chose rather to be absent
 than oppose it, his Parliament sent to him for an Au-
 dience; which he assigned them on the 25th day of
May 1657. in the Banqueting - House; where their
 Speaker *Withrington* presented, and read the *Petition*
 and *Advice* of his Parliament, and desired his Assent
 to it.

He is con-
 firmed Pro-
 tector by the
 humble Pe-
 tition and
 Advice.

The Contents
 of it.

The Contents and substance of it were, “ that his
 “ Highness *Oliver Cromwell* should, under the Title
 “ of Protector; be pleased to execute the Office of
 “ Chief Magistrate over *England, Scotland, and Ire-*
 “ *land*, and the Territories and Dominions thereunto
 “ belonging, &c. and to govern according to all things
 “ in that *Petition* and *Advice*: and also, that he would
 “ in his life-time appoint the Person that should suc-
 “ ceed him in the Government: that he would call
 “ a Parliament, consisting of two Houses, once in a
 “ year at farthest: that those Persons who are legally
 “ chosen by a free Election of the People to serve in
 “ Parliament, may not be excluded from doing their
 “ duties, but by consent of that House whereof they
 “ are Members: that none but those under the Qua-
 “ lifications therein mentioned, should be capable to
 “ serve as Members in Parliament: that the power

“ of the other House be limited, as therein is pre-
 “ scribed: that the Laws and Statutes of the Land be
 “ observed and kept; no Laws altered, suspended,
 “ abrogated, or repealed, but by new Laws made
 “ by Act of Parliament: that the yearly Sum of a
 “ Million of pounds Sterling be settled for the main-
 “ tenance of the Navy, and Army; and three hun-
 “ dred thousand pounds for the support of the Go-
 “ vernment; besides other temporary Supplies, as
 “ the Commons in Parliament shall see the necessities
 “ of the Nation to require: that the Number of the
 “ Protector’s Council shall not exceed one-and-
 “ twenty; whereof seven shall be a *Quorum*: the
 “ Chief-Officers of State, as Chancellors, Keepers of
 “ the Great Seal, &c. to be approved by Parliament:
 “ that his Highness would encourage a Godly Ministry
 “ in these Nations; and that such as do revile and
 “ disturb them in the worship of God, may be pu-
 “ nished according to Law; and where Laws are de-
 “ fective, new ones to be made: that the Protestant
 “ Christian Religion, as it is contained in the Old
 “ and New Testament, be asserted; and held forth
 “ for the public Profession of these Nations, and
 “ no other; and that a Confession of Faith be agreed
 “ upon, and recommended to the People of these
 “ Nations; and none to be permitted, by words or
 “ writing, to revile, or reproach the said Confession
 “ of Faith.”

When this *Petition* and *Advice* was distinctly read
 to him, after a long pause, and casting up his Eyes,
 and other Gestures of perplexity, he signed it; and
 told them, “ that he came not thither that day as to

His Speech
 upon passing
 it.

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“ a day of Triumph, but with the most serious
“ thoughts that ever he had in all his Life, being to
“ undertake one of the greatest Burdens that ever
“ was laid upon the back of any human Creature;
“ so that, without the support of the Almighty, he
“ must necessarily sink under the weight of it, to the
“ damage and prejudice of the Nation committed to
“ his Charge: therefore he desired the help of the
“ Parliament, and the help of all those who feared
“ God, that by Their help he might receive help and
“ assistance from the hand of God, since nothing but
“ His presence could enable him to discharge so great
“ a Trust. He told them, that this was but an Intro-
“ duction to the carrying on of the Government of
“ the three Nations; and therefore he recommended
“ the supply of the rest, that was yet wanting. to the
“ Wisdom of the Parliament;” and said, “ he could
“ not doubt, but the same spirit that had led the Par-
“ liament to This, would easily suggest the rest to
“ them; and that nothing should have induced him,
“ to have undertaken this intolerable burden to
“ flesh and blood, but that he saw, it was the Par-
“ liament’s care to answer those ends for which they
“ were engaged;” calling God to Witness, “ that
“ he would not have undergone it, but that the Par-
“ liament had determined that it made clearly for
“ the liberty and interest of the Nation, and prefer-
“ vation of such as fear God; and if the Nation were
“ not thankful to them for their care; it would fall
“ as a sin on their heads.” He concluded with recom-
“ mending some things to them, “ which, he said,
“ would tend to Reformation, by discountenancing
Vice

"Vice and encouraging Virtue;" and so dismissed them to return to their House. BOOK
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But now that they had performed all he could expect from them, he resolved that he would do somewhat for himself; and that all the discourses which had passed of Kingship, should not pass away in the silence of this Address, but that this Exaltation should be attended with such a noise and solemnity, as should make it very little inferior to the other. Therefore, within few days after, he sent a Message to the Parliament, "that they would adjourn until such a time as the solemnity of his Inauguration should be performed;" for the formality whereof they had not provided, nor indeed considered it; as if enough had been done already. For this he appointed the six-and-twentieth of *June*; and in the mean time assigned the care to several Persons, that all things should be made ready for the magnificence of such a Work.

On the day appointed, *Westminster-Hall* was prepared, and adorned as sumptuously as it could be for a day of Coronation. A Throne was erected with a Pavilion, and a Chair of State under it, to which *Cromwell* was conducted in an entry, and attendance of his Officers, Military and Civil, with as much State (and the Sword carried before him) as can be imagined. When he was sat in his Chair of State, and after a short Speech, which was but the Prologue of that by the Speaker of the Parliament, *Withrington*, that this promotion might not seem to be without the Nobility's having any share in it, the Speaker, with the Earl of *Warwick*, and *Whitlock*, vested him

The Solemnity of his Inauguration.

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with a rich Purple Velvet Robe lined with Ermines ; the Speaker enlarging upon the Majesty and the Integrity of that Robe. Then the Speaker presented him with a fair Bible of the largest Edition, richly Bound ; then he , in the name of all the People, girded a Sword about him ; and lastly presented him a Sceptre of Gold , which he put into his hand , and made him a large discourse of those Emblems of Government and Authority. Upon the close of which, there being little wanting to a perfect formal Coronation, but a Crown and an Arch-Bishop, he took his Oath , administered to him by the Speaker, in these words (which amongst other things had been settled by an explanatory Petition and Advice) “ I do, in
“ the Presence, and by the Name of Almighty God,
“ promise and swear, that, to the utmost of my
“ power, I will uphold, and maintain the true Re-
“ formed Protestant Christian Religion in the purity
“ thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures
“ of the Old and New-Testament; and to the utmost
“ of my power, and understanding, encourage the
“ Profession and Professors of the same; and that, to
“ the utmost of my power, I will endeavour, as Chief
“ Magistrate of these three Nations, the maintenance
“ and preserving of the Peace and Safety , and just
“ Rights and Privileges of the People thereof ; and
“ shall in all things , according to the best of my
“ knowledge and power, govern the People of these
“ three Nations according to Law.”

After this there remained nothing but Festivals, and Proclamations of his Power and Authority to be made in the City of *London*, and with all imaginable

haste throughout the three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; which was done accordingly. And that he might entirely enjoy the Sovereignty they had conferred upon him, without any new blasts, and disputes, and might be vacant to the despatch of his Domestic Affairs, which he had modelled, and might have time to consider how to fill his other House with Members fit for his purpose, he adjourned his Parliament till *January* next, as having done as much as was necessary for one Session. In this vacancy, his greatness seemed to be so much established both at home and abroad, as if it could never be shaken. He caused all the Officers of his Army, and all Commanders at Sea to subscribe, and approve all that the Parliament had done, and to promise to observe and defend it.

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He adjourns
his Parliament
to January
the 20. His
Actions in
the vacancy
of Parliament.

He sent now for his eldest Son *Richard*; who till this time, had lived privately in the Country upon the fortune his Wife had brought him, in an ordinary Village in *Hampshire*; and brought him now to the Court, and made him a Privy-Counsellor, and caused him to be chosen Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*. Notwithstanding all which, few People then believed that he intended to name him for his Successor; he by his discourses often implying, "that he would name such a Successor, as was in all respects equal to the Office:" and so Men guessed this, or that Man, as they thought most like to be so esteemed by him. His second Son *Henry*, who had the Reputation of more Vigor, he had sent into *Ireland*, and made him his Lieutenant of that Kingdom,

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His Daughters
disposed
of in Marriage.

that he might be sure to have no disturbance from thence.

He had only two Daughters unmarried: One of those he gave to the Grand-son and Heir of the Earl of *Warwick*, a Man of a great Estate, and thoroughly engaged in the Cause from the beginning; the Other was Married to the Lord Viscount *Falconbridge*, the owner likewise of a very fair Estate in *Yorkshire*, and descended of a Family eminently Loyal. There were many reasons to believe that this young Gentleman, being then of about three or four-and-twenty years of Age, of great Vigor and Ambition, had many good purposes, which he thought that Alliance might qualify and enable him to perform. These Marriages were celebrated at *White-Hall* with all imaginable Pomp and Lustre; and it was observed, that though the Marriages were performed in public View according to the Rites and Ceremonies then in use, they were presently afterwards in private Married by Ministers Ordained by Bishops, and according to the form in the Book of Common-Prayer; and this with the privity of *Cromwell*; who pretended to yield to it in compliance with the importunity, and folly of his Daughters.

The Success
of his Arms
abroad.

These Domestic Triumphs were confirmed, and improved by the Success of his Arms abroad. Though the *French* had no mind to apply those Forces upon *Dunkirk*, which they were obliged, when taken, to put into *Cromwell's* hands, and so march to other places, which they were to Conquer to their own use, in which the six thousand *English* under the Command of *Raynolds* attended them, and behaved themselves

eminently well, and in good discipline; yet his Ambassador *Lockhart* made such lively Instances with the Cardinal, with complaints of their breach of Faith, and some Menaces, "that his Master knew where "to find a more punctual Eriend;" that as soon as they had taken *Montmedy*, and *St. Venant*, the Army marched into *Flanders*; and though the Season of the year was too far spent to engage in a Siege before *Dunkirk*, they sat down before *Mardike*; which was looked upon as the most difficult part of the Work; which being reduced, would facilitate the other very much: and that Fort they took, and delivered it into the hands of *Raynolds*, with an obligation "that they "would besiege *Dunkirk* the next year, and make it "their first Attempt."

But that which made a noise indeed, and Crowned his Successes, was the Victory his Fleet, under the Command of *Blake*, had obtained over the *Spaniard*; which, in truth, with all its Circumstances, was very wonderful, and will never be forgotten in *Spain*, and the *Canaries*. That Fleet had rode out all the Winter-Storms before *Cadiz* and the Coast of *Portugal*, after they had sent home those former Ships which they had taken of the *West-Indian* Fleet, and understood by the Prisoners, that the other Fleet from *Peru*, which is always much richer than that of *Mexico*, was undoubtedly at Sea, and would be on the Coast by the beginning of the Spring, if they received not Advertisement of the presence of the *English* Fleet; in which case they were most like to stay at the *Canaries*. The Admiral concluded, that, notwithstanding all they had done, or could do to block up *Cadiz*, one

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The Victory
of his Fleet
over the
Spaniard.

B O O K way or other they would not be without that Adver-
xv. tisement; and therefore resolved to sail with the whole Fleet to the length of the *Canaries*, that, if it were possible, they might meet with the Galeons before they came thither; and if they should be first got in thither, they would then consider what was to be done.

With this Resolution the Fleet stood for the *Canaries*, and about the middle of *April* came thither; and found that the Galeons were got thither before them, and had placed themselves, as they thought, in safety. The smaller Ships, being ten in number, lay in a Semi-circle, moored along the Shore; and the six great Galeons (the Fleet consisting of sixteen good Ships) which could not come so near the Shore, lay with their broad-sides towards the Offing. Besides this good posture in which all the Ships lay, they were covered with a strong Castle well furnished with Guns; and there were six or seven small Forts, raised in the most advantageous places of the Bay, every one of them furnished with divers good pieces of Cannon; so that they were without the least Apprehension of their want of security, or imagination that any Men would be so desperate, as to assault them upon such apparent disadvantage.

When the *English* Fleet came to the mouth of the Bay of *Santa Cruz*, and the General saw in what posture the *Spaniard* lay, he thought it impossible to bring off any of the Galeons; however, he resolved to burn them (which was by many thought to be equally impossible) and sent Captain *Stayner* with a Squadron of the best Ships to fall upon the Galeons;

which he did very resolutely; whilst other Frigats entertained the Forts, and lesser Breast-works, with continual Broad-sides to hinder their firing. Then the General coming up with the whole Fleet, after full four hours fight, they drove the *Spaniards* from their Ships, and possessed them; yet found that their work was not done; and that it was not only impossible to carry away the Ships, which they had taken, but that the Wind that had brought them into the Bay, and enabled them to Conquer the Enemy, would not serve to carry them out again; so that they lay exposed to all the Cannon from the Shore; which thundered upon them. However, they resolved to do what was in their power; and so, discharging their broad-sides upon the Forts and Land, where they did great execution, they set fire to every Ship, Galeons, and others; and burned every one of them; which they had no sooner done, but it happened the Wind turned, and carried the whole Fleet without loss of one Ship out of the Bay, and put them safe to Sea again.

The whole Action was so miraculous, that all Men who knew the place, wondered that any sober Men, with what Courage soever endued, would ever have undertaken it; and they could hardly persuade themselves to believe what they had done; whilst the *Spaniards* comforted themselves with the belief, that they were Devils and not Men who had destroyed them in such a manner. So much a strong resolution of bold and courageous Men can bring to pass, that no resistance and advantage of ground can disappoint them. And it can hardly be imagined, how small a loss the *English* sustained in this unparalleled

BOOK XV. Action; no one Ship being left behind, and the killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred Men, when the Slaughter on board the *Spanish* Ships, and on the Shore, was incredible.

Blake returns with the Fleet; dies in the way.

His Burial, and Character.

The Fleet after this, having been long abroad, found it necessary to return home. And this was the last service performed by *Blake*; who Sickened in his Return, and in the very entrance of the Fleet into the Sound of *Plymouth*, expired. He wanted no Pomp of Funeral when he was dead, *Cromwell* causing him to be brought up by Land to *London* in all the State that could be; and to encourage his Officers to venture their Lives, that they might be Pompously Buried, he was, with all the Solemnity possible, and at the Charge of the Public, Interred in *Harry the Seventh's* Chapel, among the Monuments of the Kings. He was a Man of a private Extræction; yet had enough left him by his Father to give him a good Education; which his own Inclination disposed him to receive in the University of *Oxford*; where he took the degree of a Master of Arts; and was enough versed in Books for a Man who intended not to be of any Profession, having sufficient of his own to maintain him in the plenty he affected, and having then no appearance of Ambition to be a greater Man than he was. He was of a melancholic and a sullen Nature, and spent his time most with Good fellows, who liked his moroseness and a freedom he used in inveighing against the Licence of the time, and the power of the Court. They who knew him inwardly, discovered that he had an Anti-Monarchical Spirit, when few Men thought the Government in any danger.

When the Troubles begun, he quickly declared himself against the King; and having some Command in *Bristol*, when it was first taken by Prince *Rupert* and the Marquis of *Hertford*, being trusted with the Command of a little Fort upon the Line, he refused to give it up, after the Governor had signed the Articles of Surrender, and kept it some hours after the Prince was in the Town, and killed some of the Soldiers; for which the Prince resolved to hang him, if some Friends had not interposed for him, upon his want of experience in War; and prevailed with him to quit the place by very great importunity, and with much difficulty. After this, having done eminent Service to the Parliament, especially at *Taunton*, at Land, He then betook himself wholly to the Sea; and quickly made himself signal there. He was the first Man that declined the old track, and made it manifest that the Science might be attained in less time than was imagined; and despised those Rules which had been long in practice, to keep his Ship and his Men out of danger; which had been held in former times a point of great Ability and Circumspection; as if the principal Art requisite in the Captain of a Ship had been to be sure to come home safe again. He was the first Man who brought the Ships to contemn Castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the first that infused that proportion of Courage into the Sea-men, by making them see by experience, what mighty things they could do, if they were resolved; and taught them to fight in Fire as well as upon

B O O K Water: and though he hath been very well imitated
XV. and followed, he was the first that gave the Example
 of that kind of Naval Courage, and bold and resolute
 Achievements.

The Parlia-
 ment comes
 together
 Jan. 20.

After all this Lustre and Glory, in which the Pro-
 tector seemed to flourish, the season of the year
 threatened some tempest and foul weather. *January*
 brought the Parliament again together. They did not
 re-assemble with the same temper, and resignation, in
 which they parted; and it quickly appeared how
 unsecure new Institutions of Government are; and
 when the Contrivers of them have provided, as they
 think, against all mischievous Contingencies, they
 find, that they have unwarily left a gap open to let
 their Destruction in upon them.

Cromwell thought he had sufficiently provided for
 his own security, and to restrain the insolence of the
 Commons, by having called the other House; which
 by the *Petition* and *Advice* was to be done; and having
 filled it, for the most part, with the Officers of the
 Army, and such others as he had good reason to be
 confident of. So on the twentieth of *January* the day
 appointed to meet (whereas, before, the Parliament
 used to attend him in the Painted-Chamber, when he
 had any thing to say to them; now) he came to the
 House of Lords; where his new Creations were; then
 he sent the Gentleman-Usher of the black Rod to call
 the Commons to him. And they being conducted to
 the Bar of that House, He being placed in his Chair
 under a Cloth of State, begun his Speech in the old
 Style, "My Lords, and You, the Knights, Citizens,
 "and Burgeesses, of the House of Commons:" and

Cromwell
 speaks to
 them.

then discoursed some particulars, which he recommended to them; thanked them "for their fair Correspondence the last Session; and assured them," "if they would continue to prosecute his Designs, they should be called the blessed of the Lord, and Generations to come should bless them."

But as soon as the Commons came to their House, they caused the third Article of the *Petition and Advice* to be read; by which it was provided, that no Members legally chosen should be excluded from the performance of their Duty but by consent of that House of which they were Members. Upon which, they proceeded to the calling over their House, and re-admitted presently all those who had been excluded for refusing to sign that Recognition of the Protector; and by this means, above a hundred of the most inveterate Enemies the Protector had, came and sat in the House; among whom were Sir Henry Vane, Haslerig, and many other signal Men; who had much the more Credit and Interest in the House, for having been excluded for their fidelity to the Commonwealth; many of those who had subscribed it, valuing themselves for having thereby become Instruments to introduce them again, who could never otherwise have come to be re-admitted.

As soon as these Men came into the House, they began to question the Authority and Jurisdiction of the other House; "that it was true, the *Petition and Advice* had admitted there should be such a House; but that it should be a House of Peers, that they should be called *My Lords*, there was no provision; nor did it appear what Jurisdiction it should have:

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The House of Commons re-admit all their Members that had been excluded, by Virtue of a Clause in the *Petition and Advice*.

Their transactions afterwards.

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“ that it would be a very ridiculous thing, if they
“ should suffer those who were created by themselves,
“ and sat only by Their Vote, to be better Men
“ than They; and to have a Negative Voice to con-
“ trol their Masters. ” When they had enough
vilified them, they questioned the Protector’s Authority to send Writs to call them thither: “ Who gave
“ him that Authority to make Peers ? that it had
“ been the proper business of that House to have
“ provided for all this; which it is probable they
“ would have done at this meeting, if he had not
“ presumptuously taken that Sovereign power upon
“ him. ”

Cromwell
Convenes both
Houses, and
speaks to
them.

Cromwell was exceedingly surprised, and perplexed with this new Spirit; and found that he had been short-sighted in not having provided, at the same time, for the filling his House of Commons, when he erected his other of Peers: for he had taken away those out of that House who were the boldest Speakers, and best able to oppose this torrent, to institute this other House, without supplying those other places by Men who could as well undergo the Work of the other. However, he made one effort more; and Convened both Houses before him; and very Magisterially, and in a Dialect he had never used before, reprehended them for presuming to question his Authority. “ The other House, he said, were Lords, and should
“ be Lords; ” and commanded Them “ to enter
“ upon such business, as might be for the benefit, not
“ the distraction of the Common-wealth; which he
“ would with God’s Help prevent. ” And when he found this Animadversion did not reform them, but

that they continued in their presumption, and every day improved their reproaches and contempt of him, he went to his House of Lords upon the fourth of *February*; and sending for the Commons, after he had used many sharp expressions of indignation, he told them, "that it concerned his Interest, as much as the Peace and Tranquillity of the Nation, to dissolve that Parliament, and therefore he did put an end to their sitting." So that Cloud was, for the present, dissipated, that threatened so great a Storm.

The Parliament being dissolved, *Cromwell* found himself at ease to prosecute his other designs. After the taking of *Mardike*, *Raynolds*, who was Commander in chief of that Body of the *English* in the Service of *France*, endeavouring to give his Friends in *England* a visit, was, together with some other Officers who accompanied him, cast away, and drowned at Sea; upon which, before the dissolution of the Parliament, *Lockhart*; who was the Protector's Ambassador in *France*, was designed to take that Charge upon him, and all things, which were to be Transported from *England*, for the prosecution of the business in *Flanders*, the next Spring, were despatched with the more care, and punctuality, that there might be no room left for the Cardinal to imagine, that the Protector was in any degree perplexed with the contradiction, and ill-humor of the Parliament.

As soon as he was rid of That, he thought it as necessary to give some Instances at home, how little he feared those Men who were thought to be so much his Rivals in power, and in the opinion of the Army, that he durst not disoblige them. And therefore, after

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XV.

He Dissolves
that Parlia-
ment, Feb. 4.

Raynolds
cast away
coming out of
Flanders.

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Cromwell
turns Lambert
out of the
Army.

some sharp expostulations with *Lambert*, who was as positive in his own humor, he sent to him for his Commission; which he sullenly gave up, when there was a general imagination that he would have refused to have delivered it. So he was deprived of his Regiment, his authority in the Army; and of being Major-General in the North, in an instant, without the least appearance of contradiction or murmur; and the Officers *Cromwell* substituted in the several places; found all the obedience that had been paid to the other; and *Lambert* retired to his Garden as unvisited and untaken notice of, as if he had never been in Authority; which gave great reputation to the Protector, that he was entire Master of his Army.

He had observed, throughout the Parliament, that the Major-Generals were extremely odious to the People, as they had been formidable to him. For, whilst his Party were prosecuting to have his Authority confirmed to him, and that he might have the Title of King conferred upon him, *Lambert* was as solicitous to have the Major-Generals confirmed by Parliament, and to have their dependance only upon it; which, with the authority they had of lifting Men in a readiness, would have made their power, and their strength, in a short time to be equal to the other's. Now that was over, *Cromwell* was content to continue their Names, that they might still be formidable in the Counties, but Abridged them of all that power which might be inconvenient to Himself.

He abridges
the power of
his Major-
Generals.

He took likewise an' occasion from an accident that happened, to amuse the People with the apprehension of Plots at home to facilitate an Invasion from

He acquaints
the L. Mayor,

abroad; and sending for the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen to attend him, he made them a large discourse of the danger they were in of being surpris'd; "that there was a design to seize upon the Tower; and" at the same time that there should be a general Insurrection in the City of the Cavaliers, and discontented Party, whilst the City remained so secure, "that they had put their Militia into no posture to be ready to preserve themselves in such an Attempt; but on the contrary, that they were so negligent in their Discipline, that the Marquis of *Ormond* had lain securely in the City full three Weeks without being discovered; who was sent over by the King to countenance a general Insurrection, whilst the King himself, he said, had ten thousand Men ready at *Bruges*, with two-and-twenty Ships, with which he meant to invade some other more Northern part of the Kingdom." He wished them "to lose no time in putting their Militia into a good posture, and to make very strict searches to discover what Strangers were harboured within the Walls of the City, and to keep good Watches every Night." He ordered double Guards to be set about the Tower; and that they might see that there was more than ordinary Occasion for all this, he caused very many Persons of all conditions, most of them such as were reasonably to be suspected to be of the King's Party, to be surpris'd in the Night in their Beds (for those circumstances made all that was done to be the more notorious) and after some short Examination, to be sent to the Tower; and to other Prisons; for there was,

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XV.

&c. of the City with a Plot of the Cavaliers, and the Marquis of *Ormond's* being in England.

Many Persons seized on upon that Account.

B O O K at the same time, the same severity used in the several
xv. Counties; for the better explanation, and understanding whereof, it will be necessary now that We return to *Flanders*.

The King's
 Affairs in
 Flanders.

Within little more than two Months after the King's coming to *Bruges*, the little Treaty which had been signed by the Arch-Duke with the King, was sent ratified from *Madrid* by the King of *Spain*, with many great compliments; which the King was willing should be believed to be of extraordinary Importance. After wonderful excuses of the Lowness of their affairs in all places, which disabled them to perform those Services which are due from, and to a great King, they let his Majesty know, "that the Catholic King had assigned so many Crowns as amounted to six thousand Guilders, to be paid every Month towards a Royal Aid; and half so much more, for the support of the Duke of *Glocester*; that though the Sum was very small, it was as much as their necessities would bear; and the smallness should be recompensed by the punctuality of the payment," the first payment being to be made about the middle of the next Month; without taking notice that the King had been already in that Country near three Months, during which time he had not received the least Present, or assistance towards his support.

They were willing that the King should raise four Regiments of Foot, which should march with their Army, until the King should find the season ripe to make an Invasion with that other supply which they were bound by the Treaty to give. But for the raising
 those

those four Regiments, there was not one penny allowed, or any other encouragement, than little Quarters to bring their Men to; and, after their Muster, the common allowance of Bread. However, the King was glad of the opportunity to employ, and dispose of many Officers and Soldiers, who flocked to him from the time of his first coming into *Flanders*. He resolved to raise one Regiment of Guards, the Command whereof he gave to the Lord *Wentworth*, which was to do duty in the Army as common Men, till his Majesty should be in such a posture, that they might be brought about his Person. The Marquis of *Ormond* had a Regiment in order to be commanded by his Lieutenant-Colonel, that the *Irish* might be tempted to come over. The Earl of *Rocheſter* would have a Regiment, that such Officers and Soldiers might resort to, who were desirous to serve under his Command: and because the *Scots* had many Officers about the Court, who pretended that they could draw many of their Country-Men to them, the King gave the fourth Regiment to the Lord *Newburgh*, a Nobleman of that Kingdom, of great courage; who had served his Father and himself with very signal fidelity. Those four Regiments were raised with more expedition than can be imagined, upon so little encouragement.

As soon as the Treaty was confirmed, in truth, from the time that his Majesty came into *Flanders*, and that he resolved to make as entire a Conjunction with the *Spaniards* as they would permit, he gave notice to the King of *France*, that he would no longer receive that Pension, which, during the time he had

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XV.

The King
raises four
Regiments of
his Subjects
in *Flanders*.

The King
no longer
receives any

B O O K remained at *Cologne*, had been reasonably well paid; but, after his coming into *Flanders*, he never would receive any part of it.

XV.
 Pension from
 France.

The Marquis
 of Ormond
 sent to treat
 with the
 Lord Muskery
 at Condé
 about his Re-
 giment. The
 Chancellor of
 the Exche-
 quer sent to
 Brussels to
 confer with
 Don Alonzo
 de Cardinas.

The *Spanish* Army was at this time before *Condé*; a place Garrisoned by the *French* between *Valenciennes*, and *Cambray*; which was invested now by *Don Juan*; who finding that the greatest part of the Garrison consisted of *Irish*, and that there was in it a Regiment commanded by *Muskery*, a Nephew of the Marquis of *Ormond*, he thought this a good season to manifest the dependance the *Irish* had upon the King; and therefore writ to his Majesty at *Bruges*, and desired that he would send the Marquis to the Camp; which his Majesty could not refuse; and the Marquis was very willing to go thither; and at the same time the Chancellor of the Exchequer was sent to *Brussels* (under pretence of soliciting the payment of the three first Months, which were assigned to the King) to confer with *Don Alonzo de Cardinas* upon all such particulars as might be necessary, to adjust some design for the Winter upon *England*; *Don Juan*, and the Marquis of *Carracena*, referring all things which related to *England* to *Don Alonzo*, and being very glad that the Chancellor went to *Brussels*, at the same time that the Marquis went to the Camp, that so a correspondence between them two might ascertain any thing that should be desired on either side.

Condé was reduced to straits by the time the Marquis came thither; who was received with much more civility by *Don Juan*, at least by the Marquis of *Carracena*, than any Man who related to the King, or indeed than the King himself. The thing they de-

fired of him was, that when the Garrison should be reduced, which was then Capitulating, he would prevail with those of the *Irish* Nation, when they marched out, to enter into the *Spanish* Service, that is, as they called it, to serve their own King: for they talked of nothing but going over in the Winter into *England*; especially they desired that his Nephew *Muskery*, who had the reputation of a stout and an excellent Officer, as in truth he was, would come over with his Regiment, which was much the best, whatever the other would do. After the Capitulation was signed, the Marquis easily found opportunity to confer with his Nephew, and the other Officers of the several Regiments. When he had informed them of the King's pleasure, and that the entering into the service of the *Spaniard* was, for the present, necessary in order to the King's service, the other Regiments made no scruple of it; and engaged, as soon as they marched out, to go whither they should be directed.

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The Success
of the Mar-
quis' confere-
nce with
Muskery.

Only *Muskery* expressly refused that either himself, or any of his Men should leave their Colors, till, according to his Articles, they should march into *France*. He said, "it was not consistent with his honor to do otherwise." But he declared, "that as soon as he should come into *France*, he would leave his Regiment in their Quarters; and would himself Ride to the Court, and demand his Pass; which, by his contract with the Cardinal, was to be given to him, whenever his own King should demand his Service; and his Regiment should likewise be permitted to march with him." It was urged to him,

BOOK XV. "that it was now in his own power to dispose of himself; which he might lawfully do; but that, when he was found in *France*, he would no more have it in his power." He said, "He was bound to ask his dismissal, and the Cardinal was bound to give it; and when he had done His part, he was very confident the Cardinal would not break his word with him; but if he should, he would get nothing by it; for he knew his Men would follow him whithersoever he went; and therefore desired his Uncle to satisfy himself; and to assure the King and *Don Juan*, that he would, within six weeks, return; and if he might have Quarters assigned him, his Regiment should be there within few days after him." It was in vain to press him farther, and the Marquis telling *Don Juan*, that he believed he would keep his word, he was contented to part kindly with him; and had a much better esteem of him than of the other Officers, who came to him, and brought over their Men without any Ceremony.

Muskery marched away with the rest of the Garriſon; and as soon as he was in *France*, rode to *Paris*; where the Cardinal then was; who received him with extraordinary Grace; but when he asked his dismissal, and urged his Capitulation, the Cardinal, by all imaginable Careſſes, and promiſes of a penſion, endeavoured to divert him from the inclination; told him, "that this was only to ſerve the *Spaniard*, and not his own King; who had no employment for him; that if he would ſtay in their Service till the King had need of him, he would take care to ſend Him, and his Regiment, in a better Condition to

“ his Majesty, than they were now in.” When he could neither with promises, nor reproaches, divert him from quitting their Service, he gave him a Pass only for Himself; and expressly refused to dismiss the Regiment; averring, “ that he was not bound to it, “ because there could be no pretence that they could “ serve the King; who had no use of them, nor where- “ withal to pay them.”

Muskery took what he could get, his own Pass; and made haste to the place where his Regiment was; and after he had given them such directions as he thought necessary, he came away only with two or three Servants to *Brussels*; and desired *Don Juan* to assign him convenient Quarters for his Regiment; which he very willingly did; and he no sooner gave notice to them whither they should come, but they behaved themselves so, that, by sixes and sevens, his whole Regiment, Officers and Soldiers, to the number of very near eight hundred, came to the place assigned them; and brought their Arms with them; which the *Spaniard* was amazed at; and ever after very much valued him, and took as much care for the preservation of that Regiment, as of any that was in their Service.

Muskery
brings his
Regiment
over to the
Spaniards.

When the Marquis proposed any thing that concerned the King, during the time he was in the Army, *Don Juan* still writ to *Don Alonzo* to confer with the Chancellor of the Exchequer about it; who found *Don Alonzo* in all respects so untractable, and so absolutely governed by the *Irish* Jesuit, who filled his head with the hopes of the Levellers, that, after he had received the Money that was assigned to the

The Chancel-
lor of the
Exchequer's
Conferences
with *Don*
Alonzo.

BOOK XV. King, he returned to *Bruges*, as the Marquis did from the Army, when the business of *Condé* was over.

It was well enough known, at least generally believed, from the time that the secret confidence begun between *Cromwell* and the Cardinal, and long before *Lockhart* appeared there as Ambassador, that the Cardinal had not only promised, "that the King should receive no assistance from thence; but that no body who related to his Service, or against whom any exception should be taken, should be permitted to reside in *France*;" and that, as the King had already been driven thence; so when the time should be ripe, the Duke of *York* would be likewise necessitated to leave that Kingdom. And now, upon the King's coming into *Flanders*, and upon the coming over of the six thousand *English* for the Service of *France*, and the publication of the Treaty with *Cromwell*, the *French* did not much desire to keep that Article secret which provided against the King's residing in that Kingdom, and for the exclusion of the Duke of *York*, and many other Persons, by Name, who attended upon the King, and some who had Charges in the Army. And the Cardinal and the Queen, with some seeming regret, communicated it to the Duke, as a thing they could not refuse, and infinitely lamented, with many professions of kindness and everlasting respect; and all this in confidence, and that he might know it some time before it was to be executed by his departure.

The Cardinal gave notice to the Duke of *York* that he must leave the *French* Service.

Amongst those who by that secret Article were to leave the *French* Service, the Earl of *Bristol* was one; whose Name was, as was generally believed, put into

the Article by the Cardinal, rather than by *Cromwell*. For the Earl, having received very great Obligations from the Cardinal, thought his Interest greater in the Queen than in truth it was (according to his Natural custom of deceiving himself) and so, in the Cardinal's disgrace and retirement, had showed himself less inclined to his return than he ought to have been; which the Cardinal never forgave; yet treated him with the same familiarity as before (which the Earl took for pure Friendship) until the time came for the publishing this Treaty, when the Earl was Lieutenant-General of the Army in *Italy*. Then he sent for him; and bewailed the Condition that *France* was in, "which obliged them to receive Commands from "*Cromwell*, which were very uneasy to them; then "told him, that he could stay no longer in their Service, and that they must be compelled to dismiss "the Duke of *York* himself;" but made infinite professions of kindness, and "that they would part with "him, as with a Man that had done them great "Service." The Earl, who could always much better bear ill Accidents than prevent them, believed that all proceeded from the Malice of *Cromwell*; and quickly had the Image of a better fortune in his fancy than that he was to quit; and so setting his heart upon the getting as good a supply of Money from them as he could, and the Cardinal desiring to part fairly with him, he received such a Present, as enabled him to remove with a handsome Equipage in Servants and Horses. So he came directly for *Bruges* to the King; to whom he had made himself in some degree gracious before his Majesty left *Paris*. But his business

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The Earl of
Bristol or-
dered also to
leave France.

Comes to
Bruges to
the King.

B O O K there was only to present his Duty to his Majesty ;
XV. where after he had stay'd two or three days, he made his Journey to the Army to offer his Service to *Don Juan*, without so much as desiring any recommendation from the King.

There was nothing more known , than that the *Spaniard* had all imaginable prejudice and hatred against the Earl, both for the little kindness he had shew'd toward them in *England*, whilst he was Secretary of State, of which *Don Alonzo* was a faithful Remembrancer, and for the more than ordinary Animosity he had express'd against them from the time that he had been in the *French* Service; which angered them the more, because he had been born in *Spain*. He had then likewise rendered himself particularly odious to *Flanders*; where he was proclaimed, and detested, in all the Rhymes and Songs of the Country, for the savage Outrages his Forces had committed by Fire and Plunder, two years before, when he made a Winter-Incursion with his Troops into that Country, and committed greater Waste than ever the *French* Themselves had done, when the Forces were Commanded by Them. Upon all which, his Friends dissuaded him at *Bruges* from going to the *Spanish* Army, where he would receive very cold treatment. But he smiled at the advertisement; and told them ,
 " that all the time he was in *France*, he was out of
 " his Sphere; and that his own Genius always dis-
 " posed him to *Spain*; where he was now resolv'd
 " to make his Fortune." And with this confidence he left *Bruges*, and went to the Army, when it had newly taken *Condé*; where he found his reception such,

both from *Don Juan* and the Marquis of *Carracena*, BOOK
 as he had reason to expect; which did not at all XV.
 deject him.

He was present when *Don Juan* ate, and when he used to discourse of all things at large; and most willingly of Scholastic points, if his Confessor, or any other Learned Person, was present. The Earl always interposed in those discourses with an admirable acuteness, which, besides his exactness in the *Spanish* Language, made his parts wondered at by every Body; and *Don Juan* begun to be very much pleased with his Company; and the more, because he was much given to speculations in Astrology; in which he found the Earl so much more conversant than any Man he had met with, that, within a Week after he had first seen him, he desired the Earl to calculate his Nativity. In a word, his presence grew to be very acceptable to *Don Juan*; which when the Marquis of *Carracena* discerned, he likewise treated him with more respect; in which he found likewise his account: for the Earl having been Lieutenant-General of the *French* Army under Prince *Thomas*, in conjunction with the Duke of *Modena*, against *Milan*, the very year before, when the Marquis of *Carracena* was Governor there, he could both discourse the several Transactions there with the Marquis, and knew how to take fit occasions, both in his presence and absence, to magnify his Conduct in signal Actions; which the Marquis was very glad to see, and hear, that he did very frequently. And *Don Alonzo* being sent for to the Army to consult some Affair, though he had all imaginable detestation of the Earl, and had pre-

Ingratiates himself with *Don Juan*, not withstanding the great prejudice the Spaniards had against him.

B O O K xv. pared as much prejudice towards him in *Don Juan* and the Marquis, when he found him in so much favor with both, he treated him likewise with more regard; and was well content to hear himself commended by him for understanding the Affairs of *England*; which he desired *Don Juan* and the Marquis should believe him to do. So that before he had been a Month in *Flanders*, he had perfectly reconciled himself to the Court, and to the Army; and suppressed, and diverted all the prejudice that had been against him; and *Don Juan* invited him to spend the Winter with him at *Brussels*.

He is instrumental in recovering St. Ghislain to the Spaniards.

There was another Accident likewise fell out at this time, as if it had been produced by his own Stars. The *French* had yet a Garrison at a place called *St. Ghislain*; which, being within few Leagues of *Brussels*, infested the whole Country very much, and even put them into Mutiny against the Court, that they would think of any other Expedition before they had reduced that Garrison; which was so strong that they had once attempted it, and were obliged to desist. Half the Garrison were *Irish*, under the Command of *Schomberg*, an Officer of the first Rank. Some of the Officers were nearly allied to Sir *George Lane*, who was Secretary to the Marquis of *Ormond*, and had written to him to know, "whether the giving up that place would be a Service to the King?" and if it would, they would undertake it." The Marquis sent his Secretary to inform the Earl of *Bristol* of it; who looked upon it as an opportunity sent from Heaven to raise his Fortune with the *Spaniard*. He communicated it to *Don Juan*, as a matter in his

own disposal, and to be conducted by Persons who had a dependance upon him, but yet who intended it only as a Service to the King. So now he became intrusted between the King and *Don Juan*; which he had from the beginning contrived to be; *Don Juan* being very glad to find he had so much Interest in the King, and the King well pleased that he had such credit with *Don Juan*, of whose Assistance in the next Winter he thought he should have much use; for all Attempts upon *England* must be in the Winter. In a word, this Affair of *St. Ghislain* was very acceptable to the *Spaniards*, their Campaign being ended without any other considerable Action than the taking of *Condé*. They foresaw a very sad year would succeed, if they should enter into the Field, where they were sure the *French* would be early, and leave *St. Ghislain* behind them; and they should run more hazard if they begun with the Siege of that place; and therefore they authorized the Earl to promise great rewards in Money, and Pensions, to those Officers, and Soldiers, who would contribute to the reduction of it. The matter was so well carried, that *Don Juan* assembling his Army together a little before *Christmas*, in a very great frost, and coming before the place, though *Schomberg* discovered the Conspiracy; and apprehended two or three of the Officers; yet the Soldiers, which were upon the Guards in some out-Forts, declaring themselves at the same time, and receiving the *Spaniards*, he was compelled to make Conditions, and to give up the place, that he might have liberty to march away with the rest.

This Service was of very great importance to the

B O O K *Spaniard*, and no less detriment to the *French*, and
XV: consequently gave great Reputation to the Earl; who
 then came to the King at *Bruges*, and said all that he
 thought fit of *Don Juan* to the King, and, amongst
 the rest, "that *Don Juan* advised his Majesty to send
 " some discreet Person to *Madrid*, to solicit his
 " Affairs there; but that he did not think the Person
 " he had designed to send thither (who was Sir *Henry*
de Vic, that had been long Resident in *Brussels*)
 " would be acceptable there." This was only to in-
 troduce another Person, who was dear to him, Sir
Henry Bennet, who had been formerly in his Office
 when he was Secretary of State, and bred by him;
 and was now Secretary to the Duke of *York*; but
 upon the factions that were in that Family was so
 uneasy in his place, that he desired to be in any other
 Post; and was about this time come to the King, as
 a forerunner to inform him of the Duke of *York*'s
 purpose to be speedily with him, being within few
 days to take his leave of the Court of *France*. *Bennet*
 had been long a Person very acceptable to the King;
 and therefore his Majesty readily consented, that he
 should go to *Madrid* instead of *de Vic*: so he returned
 with the Earl to *Brussels*, that he might be presented,
 and made known to *Don Juan*; from whom the Earl
 doubted not to procure particular recommendation.

He obtains of
 the King that
 Sir H. Bennet
 should be
 sent Envoy
 to Madrid.

The Duke of
 York leaves
 Paris, and
 comes to the
 King at
 Bruges.

The time was now come that the Duke of *York*
 found it necessary to leave *Paris*, and so came to the
 King to *Bruges*; where there were then all the visible
 hopes of the Crown of *England* together, and all the
 Royal Issue of the late King, the Princess *Henrietta*
 only excepted; for, besides the King and his two

Brothers, the Dukes of *York* and *Gloceſter*, the Princess Royal of *Orange* made that her way from *Paris* into the Low Countries, and ſtayed there ſome days with her Brothers.

It was at this time that the King made the Chancellor of the Exchequer Lord Chancellor of *England*, Sir *Edward Herbert*, who was the laſt Lord Keeper of the Great-Seal, being lately dead at *Paris*. Now the King put the Seal, which he had till then kept Himſelf, into the hands of the Chancellor; which he received very unwillingly: but the King firſt employed the Marquis of *Ormond*, with whom his Maſteſty knew he had an entire Friendſhip, to diſpoſe him to receive it; which when he could not do (he giving him many reaſons, beſides his own unſuitneſs, why there was no need of ſuch an Officer, or indeed any uſe of the Great-Seal till the King ſhould come into *England*; and “ that his Maſteſty found ſome eaſe in “ being without ſuch an Officer, that he was not “ troubled with thoſe Suits, which he would be, if “ the Seal were in the hands of a proper Officer to be “ uſed, ſince every Body would be then importuning the King for the Grant of Offices, Honors, and “ Lands, which would give him great vexation to “ reſuſe, and do him as great miſchief by granting.” The which when the Marquis told the King) his Maſteſty himſelf went to the Chancellor’s Lodging, and took notice of what the Marquis had told him; and ſaid. “ he would deal truly and freely with him; “ that the principal reaſon which he had alledged “ againſt receiving the Seal, was the greateſt reaſon “ that diſpoſed him to conſer it upon him.” There-

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The Chancellor of the Exchequer made Lord Chancellor.

BOOK XV. upon he pulled Letters out of his pocket, which he received lately from *Paris* for the Grant of several Reversions in *England* of Offices, and of Lands; one whereof was of the Queen's House and Lands of *Oatlands*, to the same Man who had purchased it from the State; who would willingly have paid a good Sum of Money to that Person who was to procure such a confirmation of his Title; the draught whereof was prepared at *London*, upon confidence that it would have the Seal presently put to it; which being in the King's own hand, none need, as they thought, to be privy to the secret. His Majesty told him also of many other Importunities, with which he was every day disquieted; and "that he saw no other
 " Remedy to give himself ease, than to put the Seal
 " out of his own keeping, into such hands as would
 " not be importuned, and would help him to deny." And thereupon he conjured the Chancellor to receive that Trust, with many gracious promises of his favor and protection. Whereupon the Earl of *Bristol*, and Secretary *Nicholas*, using likewise Their persuasions, he submitted to the King's pleasure; who delivered the Seal to him in the Council, in the *Christmas*-time in the year 1657; which particular is only fit to be mentioned, because many great Affairs, and some Alterations accompanied, though not attended upon it.

After so long and so dark a retirement in *Cologne*, the King's very coming into *Flanders* raised the Spirits of his Friends in *England*. And when they were assured that there was a Treaty signed between his Majesty and the King of *Spain*, they made no doubt of an

Army sufficient to begin the business, and then that the general affections of the Kingdom would finish it. The King, who had hitherto restrained his Friends from exposing themselves to unnecessary dangers, thought it now fit to encourage them to put themselves into such a posture, that they might be ready to join with him when he appeared; which he hoped the *Spaniard* would enable him to do in the depth of Winter. Several Messengers were sent from *England* to assure him, "that there was so universal a readiness there, that they could hardly be persuaded to stay to expect the King, but they would begin the Work Themselves:" yet they complained much of the backwardness of those who were most trusted by the King, and They again as much inveighed against the rashness and precipitation of the other, "that they would ruin themselves, and all People who should join with them.

Transactions
of the King's
Friends in
England;

The King was much perplexed to discover this distemper amongst those, who, if they were united, would find the Work very hard; and though he preferred in his own opinion the judgment of those that were most wary, yet it concerned him to prevent the other from appearing in an unseasonable Engagement; and therefore He sent to them, and conjured them "to attempt nothing, till he sent a Person to them, who, if they were ready, should have Authority enough to persuade the rest to a conjunction with them, and should himself be fit to conduct them in any reasonable Enterprize."

The Marquis of *Ormond* had frankly offered to the King, "that he would privately go into *England*, and

Which was
the occasion of
the Marquis

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of Ormond's
going into
England.

"confer with those who were most forward; and if he found, that their counsels were discreetly laid, he would encourage them, and unite all the rest to them; and if matters were not ripe, he would compose them to be quiet;" and there was no Man in *England* affected to the King's Service, who would not be readily advised by him. The Chancellor would by no means consent to his Journey, as an unreasonable Adventure upon an improbable design, seeing no ground to imagine they could do any thing. But the Marquis exceedingly undervalued any imagination of danger; and it cannot be conceived, with what security all Men ventured every day, in the height of *Cromwell's* jealousy and vigilance, to go into *England*, and to stay a Month in *London*, and return again. The King consenting to the Journey, the chief care was, that the Marquis' absence from *Bruges* might not create jealousy, and discourse, "whither he should be gone." Therefore it was for some time discoursed, "that the Marquis of Ormond was to go into *Germany* to the Duke of Newburgh" (who was known to have affection for the King) and "that he should from thence bring with him two Regiments for the Service of his Majesty."

These discourses being generally made and believed, the Marquis took his Leave publicly of the King, with his Servants fit for such a Journey, who continued the Journey towards *Germany*; so that the Letters from *Cologne* to all places gave an Account of the Marquis of *Ormond's* being there; whilst he himself, with one only Servant, and *O Neile* (who had encouraged him very much to that undertaking) took
the

the way of *Holland*; and hired a Bark at *Schevelin*; in which they Embarked; and were safely landed in *Essex*; from whence, without any trouble, they got to *London*, whilst the Parliament was still sitting. When he was there, he found means to speak with most of those of any condition upon whose Advice, and Interest, the King most depended, and against whose positive Advice his Majesty would not suffer any thing to be attempted. That which troubled him most was to discover a jealousy, or rather an Animosity between many of those who equally wished the King's Restoration, to that degree, that they would neither confer nor correspond with each other. They who had the most experience, and were of the greatest reputation with those who would appear when any thing was to be done, but would not expose themselves in Meetings or Correspondences before, complained very much of "the rashness of the others, who believed any Officers of the Army that pretended discontent, and would presently desire them to communicate with such Persons; which because they refused (as they had reason) the others loaded them with reproaches, as having lost all affection and zeal for his Majesty's Service." They protested, that they could not discover or believe that there was any such preparations in readiness, that it could be counsellable to appear in Arms against a Government so fortified, and established, as the Protector's seemed to be; that it was probable the Parliament might not comply with *Cromwell's* desires; and then there was such a discovery of Malice between several Persons of potent Condition, that

BOOK
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The temper
he found
the King's
friends in.

BOOK XV. “ many advantages might be offered to the King’s
 “ Party: if they would have the patience to attend
 “ the event, and till those Factions should be enga-
 “ ged in blood, they might be sure to advance the
 “ King’s Interest in disposing of themselves; but if
 “ they should engage, before such a time, in any
 “ Insurrection, or by seizing some insignificant Town,
 “ all dissenting Parties would be reconciled, till the
 “ King’s Friends should all be ruined, though they
 “ might afterwards return to their old Animosities.”
 In a word, though they appeared very wary, they
 declared such a resignation to the King’s pleasure,
 “ that, if the Marquis were satisfied, upon his con-
 “ ference with other Men, that the time was ripe
 “ for their appearance in Arms, they would pre-
 “ sently receive his Orders; and do what he should
 “ require, how unsuccessfully soever.

On the other side, there were many younger Men,
 who, having had no part in the former War, were
 impatient to show their courage and affection to the
 King. And those Men, being acquainted with many
 of the old Officers of the late King’s Army, who saw
 many of their old Soldiers now in *Cromwell’s* Army,
 and found them to talk after their old manner, con-
 cluded that they would all appear for the King, as
 soon as they should see his Colors flying. These
 Men talking together, would often discourse, how
 easy a thing it would be, with two Troops of Horse,
 to beat up such a Quarter, or seize such a Guard; and
 then those Men consulted how to get those Troops,
 and found Men who had lifted so many, which
 would be ready upon call. There were always in

these Meetings some Citizens, who undertook for the affection of the City; and some of these made little doubt of seizing upon the Tower. And truly the putting many Gentlemen's Sons as Apprentices into the City, since the beginning of the Troubles, had made a great alteration, at least in the general talk of that People. It was upon this kind of Materials, that many honest Men did build their hopes, and upon some assurances they had from Officers of the Army, who were as little to be depended upon.

There was another particular, which had principally contributed to this distemper, which passing from hand to hand had made Men impatient to be in Arms; which was an opinion, that the King was even ready to land with such an Army as would be able to do his business. This had been dispersed by some who had been sent Expresses into *Flanders*; who, though they always lay concealed during the time they waited for their despatches from the King, yet found some Friends and acquaintance about the Court, or in their way, who thought they did the King good service in making his Majesty be thought to be in a good condition; and so filled those People with such discourses, as would make them most welcome when they returned.

When the Marquis had taken the full survey of all that was to be depended upon, he conjured the warmer People to be quiet, and not to think of any Action till they should be infallibly sure of the King's being landed, and confirmed the other in their wariness; and being informed that *Cromwell* knew of his being there, and made many searches for him, he

B O O K thought it time to return. And so about the time that
XV. the Parliament was dissolved, he was conducted by
 The Marquis of Dr. *Quatermaine*, the King's Physician, through
 returns out of *Suffex*; and there Embarked, and safely Transported
 England. into *France*; from whence he came into *Flanders*.

Cromwell ap.
 prehends several
 Persons.

This gave the Occasion to *Cromwell* to make that
 discourse before mentioned to the Mayor and Alder-
 men of *London*, of the Lord Marquis of *Ormond's*
 having been three Weeks in the City; of which he
 had received perfect Intelligence from a hand that
 was not then in the least degree suspected, nor was
 then wicked enough to put him into *Cromwell's* hand;
 which he could easily have done; of which more
 shall be said hereafter. But when the Protector was
 well assured that the Marquis was out of his reach,
 which vexed and grieved him exceedingly, he caused
 all Persons, who he knew had, or he thought might,
 have spoken with him, to be apprehended. All Pri-
 sons, as well in the Country as the City, were filled
 with those who had been of the King's Party, or he
 believed would be; and he thought this a necessary
 season to terrify his Enemies, of all conditions, within
 the Kindom, with Spectacles which might mortify
 them.

Mr. Stapley's
 Engagement
 for the King.

In the preparations which had been made towards
 an Insurrection, many Persons in the Country, as well
 as in the City, had received Commissions for Regi-
 ments of Horse and Foot; and, amongst the rest, one
 Mr. *Stapley*, a Gentleman of a good extraction, and a
 good fortune in the County of *Suffex*; whose Mother
 had been Sister to the Earl of *Norwich*, but his Father
 had been in the Number of the blackest Offenders, and

one of the King's Judges. This Son of his, who now possessed his Estate, had taken great pains to mingle in the Company of those who were known to have affection for the King; and, upon all occasions, made professions of a desire, for the expiation of his Father's Crime, to venture his own life, and his Fortune for his Majesty's Restoration; and not only his Fortune, but his Interest was considerable in that Maritime County, so that Many thought fit to cherish those inclinations in him, and to encourage him to hope, that his fidelity might deserve to enjoy that Estate, which the Treason of his Father had forfeited.

There was a young Gentleman, *John Mordaunt*, the younger Son, and Brother, of the Earls of *Peterborough*; who, having been too young to be engaged in the late War, during which time he had his Education in *France*, and *Italy*, was now of Age, of Parts, and great vigor of mind, and newly married to a young beautiful Lady of a very Loyal Spirit, and notable vivacity of Wit and Humor, who concurred with him in all honorable dedications of himself. He resolved to embrace all opportunities to serve the King, and to dispose those upon whom he had influence, to take the same resolution; and being allied to the Marquis of *Ormond*, he did by him inform his Majesty of his resolution, and his readiness to receive any commands from him. This was many Months before the Marquis' Journey into *England*.

Mr. *Stapley* was well known to Mr. *Mordaunt*, who had represented his affections to the King, and how useful he might be towards the possessing some place in *Surfex*, and his undertaking that he would

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do so, by a Letter to the King under Mr. *Stapley's* own hand: and thereupon Mr. *Mordaunt* desired, that his Majesty would send a Commission for the Command of a Regiment of Horse to him; which he would provide, and cause to be ready against the season he should be required to appear: which Commission, with many others, was sent to Mr. *Mordaunt*; and he delivered it to Mr. *Stapley*; who was exceedingly pleased with it, renewed all his Vows and Protestations; and it is still believed that he really meant all he pretended. But he had trusted some Servant, who betrayed him; and being thereupon sent for by *Cromwell*, his Father's fast old Friend, was by him so cajoled by promises and by threats, that he was not able to withstand him; but believing that he knew already all that he asked him, he concealed nothing that he knew himself; informed him of those of the same Country who were to join with him; of whom some had likewise received Commissions, as well as himself; and in the end he confessed, "that he had received his Commission from Mr. *Mordaunt's* own hand." Before this discovery Mr. *Mordaunt* had been sent for by *Cromwell*, and very strictly examined, whether he had seen the Marquis of *Ormond* during his late being in *London*; which, though he had done often, he very confidently and positively denied, being well assured that it could not be proved, and that the Marquis himself was in safety: upon which confident denial, he was dismissed to return to his own Lodging. But upon this discovery by *Stapley*, he was within two days after sent for again, and committed close Prisoner to the Tower; and new

Mr. *Stapley* discovers what he knew of the Plot.

Mr. *Mordaunt* seized on, and committed to the Tower.

Men were every day sent for, and committed in all Quarters of the Kingdom; and within some time after, a high Court of Justice was erected for the Trial of the Prisoners, the Crimes of none being yet discovered; which put all those who knew how liable they themselves were, under a terrible Consternation.

Before this high Court of Justice, of which *John Lisle*, who gave his Vote in the King's blood, and continued an entire Confident and Instrument of *Cromwell's*, was President; there were first brought to be tried, *John Mordaunt*; Sir *Henry Slingsby*, a Gentleman of a very ancient Family, and of a very ample Fortune in *Yorkshire*; and *Dr. Hewet*, an eminent Preacher in *London*, and very Orthodox, to whose Church those of the King's Party frequently resorted, and few but those. These three were totally unacquainted with each other; and though every one of them knew enough against himself, they could not accuse one another, if they had been inclined to it. The first and the last could not doubt but that there would be evidence enough against them; and they had found means to correspond so much together, as to resolve that neither of them would plead to the Impeachment, but demur to the Jurisdiction of the Court, and desire to have Council assigned to argue against it in point of Law; they being both sufficiently instructed, how to urge Law enough to make it evident that neither of them could be legally tried by that Court, and that it was erected contrary to Law. The first that was brought to trial, was *Mr. Mordaunt*. After his Arraignment, by which he found

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Mr. Mordaunt, Sir H. Slingsby; and Dr. Hewet, tried before a high Court of Justice.

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that the delivery of the Commission to *Stapley* would be principally insisted on, and which he knew might too easily be proved, he, according to former resolution, refused to plead Not-guilty; but insisted, "that by the Law of the Land he ought not to be tried by that Court;" for which he gave more reasons than they could answer; and then desired, "that his Council might have liberty to argue the point in Law;" which of course used to be granted in all Legal Courts. But he was told, "that he was better to bethink himself; that they were well satisfied in the Legality of their Court, and would not suffer the Jurisdiction of it to be disputed; that the Law of *England* had provided a Sentence for such obstinate Persons as refused to be tried by it; which was, that they should be condemned as Mutes; which would be His Case," if he continued refractory: so he was carried back to the Tower, to consider better what he would do the next day. *Sir Henry Slingsby* was called next. He knowing nothing of, or for the other resolution, pleaded Not-guilty; and so was sent to the Prison to be tried in his turn. *Dr. Hewet*, whose greatest Crime was collecting and sending Money to the King, besides having given Money to some Officers, refused to plead, as *Mr. Mordaunt* had done, and demanded that his Council might be heard; and received the same answer, and admonition, that the other had done; and was remitted again to Prison.

Those Courts seldom consisted of fewer than twenty Judges; amongst whom, there were usually some, who, out of pity or for Money, were inclined

to do good Offices to the Prisoners who came before them; at least to communicate such Secrets to them, as might inform them what would be most pressed against them. Mr. *Mordaunt's* Lady had, by giving Money, procured some in the number to be very propitious to her Husband: and in the evening of that day the Trial had been begun, she received two very important advices from them. The one, "that she should prevail with her Husband to plead; then his Friends might do him some Service: whereas, if he insisted upon the point of Law, he would infallibly suffer, and no Man durst speak for him." The other, "that they had no sufficient proof to condemn him upon any particular with which he stood charged, but only for the delivery of the Commission to *Stapley*; and that there was to that point, besides *Stapley*, one Colonel *Mallory*, whose testimony was more valued than the other's." This *Mallory* had the reputation of an honest Man, and loved Mr. *Mordaunt* very well, and was one of those who were principally trusted in the business of *Sussex*, and had been apprehended about the same time that *Stapley* was; and finding, upon his first Examination, by the Questions administered to him by *Thurlow*, that all was discovered, he unwarily confessed all that he knew concerning Mr. *Mordaunt*; having been himself the Person principally employed between him and *Stapley*. He was brought in Custody from the Tower, to give in Evidence against Mr. *Mordaunt*, with an intention in the Court, after he had done that good Service, to proceed as strictly against himself, though they promised him indemnity.

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The means
by which Mr.
Mordaunt
escaped Sentence.

BOOK XV. The Lady, having clear information of this whole matter, could not find any way that night to advertise her Husband, that he should no more insist upon the want of Jurisdiction in the Court. For there was no possibility of speaking with, or sending to him, during the time of his Trial. Therefore she laid aside the thought of that business till the morning, and passed the night in contriving how *Mallory* might be prevailed with to make an Escape; and was so dexterous, and so fortunate, that a Friend of Hers disposed the Money she gave him so effectually, that the next morning, when *Mallory* was brought to the Hall to be ready to give in his Evidence, he found some means to withdraw from his Guard, and when he was in the Crowd he easily got away.

She had as good fortune likewise to have a little Note she writ concerning the other Advice, put into her Husband's hand, as he passed to the Bar; which having perused, he departed from his former resolution; and after he had modestly urged the same again which he had done the day before, to spend time, and the President, in much choler, answering as he had done, he submitted to his Trial; and behaved himself with Courage; and easily evaded the greatest part of the Evidence they had against him; nor could they find proof, what presumption soever there might be, that he had spoken with the Marquis of *Ormond*; and he evaded many other particulars of his correspondence with the King, with notable Address. That of the Commission of *Stapley* was reserved to the last; and the Commission being produced, and both the hand and the Signet generally

known, by reason of so many of the like, which had fallen into their hands at *Worcester*, and by many other Accidents, Mr. *Stapley* was called to declare where he had it; and seeing himself confronted by Mr. *Mordaunt*, though he did, after many questions and reproaches from the Council that prosecuted, at last confess that he did receive it from Mr. *Mordaunt*; yet he did it in so disorderly and confused a manner, that it appeared he had much rather not have said it; and answered the Questions Mr. *Mordaunt* asked him with that confusion, that his Evidence could not be satisfactory to any impartial Judges. Then *Mallory* was called for; but by no search could be found; and they could not, by their own Rules, defer their Sentence. And it so fell out by one of the Judge's withdrawing upon a sudden fit of the Stone, that the Court was divided, one half for the Condemning him, and the other half that he was not Guilty; whereupon the determination depended upon the single Vote of the President; who made some excuses for the Justice he was about to do, and acknowledged many obligations to the Mother of the Prisoner, and, in contemplation thereof, pronounced him Innocent for ought appeared to the Court. There was not in *Cromwell's* time the like Instance; and scarce any other Man escaped the Judgment, that was tried before any high Court of Justice. And he was so offended at it, that, contrary to all the forms used by themselves, he caused him to be kept for some Months after in the Tower, and would willingly have brought him to be tried again. For, within a day or two after, *Mallory* was retaken, and they had likewise corrupted

B O O K a *French* man, who had long served him, and was
xv, the only Servant whom he had made choice of (since he was to be allowed but one) to attend him in the Prison: and he had discovered enough to have taken away his Life several ways. But the scandal was so great, and the Case so unheard of, that any Man, discharged upon a public Trial, should be again proceeded against upon new Evidence for the same Offence, that *Cromwell* himself thought not fit to undergo the Reproach of it, but was in the end prevailed with to set him at liberty. And he was very few days at liberty, before he embarked himself as frankly in the King's Service as before, and with better Success.

Sir Henry
 Slingsby
 condemned.

Sir *Henry Slingsby*, and poor Dr. *Hewet* had worse fortune; and their Blood was the more thirsted after for the other's Indemnity; and the Court was too severely reprehended, to commit the same fault again. The former had lain two years in Prison in *Hull*, and was brought now up to the Tower, for fear they might not discover enough of any new Plot, to make so many formidable Examples, as the present conjuncture required. They had against him Evidence enough (besides his incorrigible Fidelity to the Crown from the first assaulting it) that he had contrived, and contracted with some Officers of *Hull*, about the time that the Earl of *Rocheſter* had been in *Yorkſhire* two years before, for the delivery of one of the Block-Houſes to him for the King's Service: nor did he care to defend himself against the Accuſation; but rather acknowledged, and juſtified his Affection, and owned his Loyalty to the King, with

very little compliment, or ceremony to the present Power. The other, Dr. *Hewet*, receiving no information of Mr. *Mordaunt's* declining the way formerly resolved upon (which it was not possible to convey to him in that instant, no Body being suffered to speak with him) and being brought to the Bar as soon as the other was removed from it, persisted in the same resolution, and spoke only against the illegality of the Court; which, upon better information, and before the Judgment was pronounced against him, he desired to retract, and would have put himself upon his Trial: but they then refused to admit him; and so Sentence of death was pronounced against them both; which they both underwent with great Christian Courage.

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XV.

and Doctor
Hewet, re-
fusing still to
plead.

They are both
Executed.

Sir *Henry Slingsby*, as is said before, was in the first Rank of the Gentlemen of *Yorkshire*; and was returned to serve as a Member in the Parliament that continued so many years; where he sat till the Troubles begun; and having no relation to, or dependance upon the Court, he was swayed only by his Conscience to detest the violent and undutiful behaviour of that Parliament. He was a Gentleman of a good understanding, but of a very melancholic Nature, and of very few words: and when he could stay no longer with a good Conscience in their Councils, in which he never concurred, he went into his Country, and joined with the first who took up Arms for the King. And when the War was ended, he remained still in his own House, prepared and disposed to run the Fortune of the Crown in any other Attempt. And having a good Fortune and a general Reputation,

An account
of Sir Henry
Slingsby.

B O O K had a greater Influence upon the People, than They
xv. who talked more and louder; and was known to be
 irreconcilable to the new Government; and therefore
 was cut off, notwithstanding very great Intercession
 to preserve him. For he was Uncle to the Lord *Fal-*
conbridge; who engaged his Wife and all his new
 Allies to intercede for him, without effect. When
 he was brought to die, he spent very little time in
 discourse; but told them, "he was to die for being
 " an honest Man, of which he was very glad."

And of Dr.
 Hewet.

Dr. *Hewet* was born a Gentleman, and bred a
 Scholar, and was a Divine before the beginning of
 the Troubles. He lived in *Oxford*, and in the Army,
 till the end of the War, and continued afterwards to
 preach with great applause in a little Church in
London; where, by the affection of the *Parish*, he was
 admitted, since he was enough known to lie noto-
 riously under the brand of Malignity. When the
 Lord *Falconbridge* married *Cromwell's* Daughter (who
 had used secretly to frequent his Church) after the
 ceremony of the time, He was made choice of to
 marry them according to the order of the Church;
 which engaged both that Lord and Lady, to use their
 utmost credit with the Protector to preserve his Life;
 but he was inexorable, and desirous that the Church-
 men, upon whom he looked as his mortal enemies,
 should see what they were to trust to, if they stood
 in need of his Mercy.

It was then believed that, if he had pleaded, he
 might have been acquitted, since in truth he never had
 been with the King at *Cologne* or *Bruges*; with which
 he was charged in his Indictment; and they had blood

enough in their power to pour out; for, besides the two before-mentioned, to whom they granted the favor to be beheaded, there were three others Colonel *Ashton*, *Stacy*, and *Betteley*, condemned by the same Court; who were treated with more severity; and were hanged, drawn, and quartered, with the utmost rigor, in several great Streets in the City, to make the deeper impression upon the People, the two last being Citizens. But all Men appeared so nauseated with blood, and so tired with those abominable Spectacles, that *Cromwell* thought it best to pardon the rest who were condemned, or rather to reprieve them; amongst whom *Mallory* was one; who was not at liberty till the King's Return; and was more troubled for the weakness he had been guilty of, than They were against whom he had trespassed.

Though the King, and all who were faithful to him, were exceedingly afflicted with this bloody proceeding, yet *Cromwell* did not seem to be the more confirmed in his Tyranny. It is true, the King's Party was the more dispirited; but *Cromwell* found another kind of Enemy much more dangerous than they, and that knew better how to deal with him in his own way. They who were raised by him, and who had raised him, even almost the whole Body of Sectaries, Anabaptists, Independents, Quakers, declared an implacable hatred against him; and whilst they contrived how to raise a power to contend with him, they likewise entered into several Conspiracies to assassinate him; which he exceedingly apprehended. They sent an Address to the King by one of their Party, a young Gentleman of an honorable Extraction, and

B O O K
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Colonel Ash-
ton, and
Stacy, and
Betteley,
Citizens,
condemned
and executed.

Cromwell
found new
Enemies
among the
Sectaries.

An Address
sent by the
Anabaptists
to the King.

■ o o ■ great parts, by whom they made many extravagant
 xv. Propositions, and seemed to depend very much upon
 the death of *Cromwell*, and thereupon to compute
 their own power to serve the King; who gave such
 an Answer only to them, as might dispose them to
 hope for his favor, if he received service from them;
 and to believe that he did not intend to persecute, or
 trouble any Men for their Opinions, if their Actions
 were peaceable; which they pretended to affect.

Since the Spirit, Humor, and Language of that
 People, and, in truth, of that time, cannot be better
 described and represented, than by that Petition and
 Address, which was never published, and of which
 there remains no Copy in any hand, that I know of,
 but only the Original, which was presented to the
 King (it being too dangerous a thing for any Man
 who remained in *England*, to have any such transcript
 in his Custody) it will not be amiss in this place to
 insert the Petition and Address, in the very words in
 which it was presented to his Majesty, with the
 Letter, that accompanied it from the Gentleman men-
 tioned before, who was an Anabaptist of special trust
 among them, and who came not with the Petition,
 but expected the King's pleasure upon the receipt of
 it; it being sent by an Officer who had served the
 King in an eminent Command, and was now gra-
 cious amongst those Sectaries without swerving in
 the least degree from his former principles and inte-
 grity: for that People always pretended a just esteem
 and value of all Men who had faithfully adhered to
 the King, and lived soberly and virtuously. The
 Address was in these words:

To

To his most excellent Majesty, Charles the second,
King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and
the Dominions thereunto belonging.

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The Address
itself.

" The humble Address of the Subscribers, in the
 " behalf of themselves, and many thousands
 " more, your Majesty's most humble and faithful
 " Subjects.

" May it please your Majesty,

" When We sit down, and recount the wonderful
 " and unheard of Dispensations of God amongst Us,
 " when We call to our remembrances the Tragical
 " Actions, and Transactions of these late times, when
 " We seriously consider the dark and mysterious
 " effects of Providence, the unexpected disappoint-
 " ment of Counsels, the strange and strong convul-
 " sions of State, the various and violent Motions and
 " Commotions of the People, the many Changings,
 " Turnings, and Overturnings of Governors, and
 " Governments, which, in the revolutions of a few
 " years, have been produced in this Land of Mira-
 " cles, We cannot but be even swallowed up in
 " Astonishment, and are constrained to command an
 " unwilling silence upon our sometimes mutinous,
 " and over-inquiring hearts, resolving all into the
 " good Will and Pleasure of that all-disposing One,
 " whose Wisdom is unsearchable, and whose Ways
 " are past finding out.

" But although it is, and We hope ever will be,
 " far from Us, either perversely or presumptuously
 " to kick against the irresistible Decrees of Heaven,
 " or vainly to attempt, by any faint and infirm de-

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xv.

“ signs of Ours, to give an interruption to that over-
 “ ruling Divine hand, which steers, and guides, go-
 “ verns, and determines the Affairs of the whole
 “ world; yet We cannot but judge it a Duty highly
 “ incumbent upon Us, to endeavour, as much as in
 “ Us lies, to repair the breaches of our dear Country.
 “ And, since it is our lot (We may say our unhap-
 “ piness) to be embarked in a Shipwrecked Com-
 “ mon-wealth (which, like a poor weather-beaten
 “ Pinnace, has, for so long a time, been tossed upon
 “ the waves and billows of Faction. split upon the
 “ rocks of violence, and is now almost quite de-
 “ voured in the quick-sands of Ambition) what can
 “ We do more worthy of *English*-Men, as We are
 “ by Nation, or of *Christians*, as We are by Pro-
 “ fession, than every one of Us to put our hand to
 “ an Oar, and try if it be the Will of our God, that
 “ such weak Instruments as We, may be, in any
 “ measure, helpful to bring it at last into the safe and
 “ quiet harbour of Justice and Righteousness ?

“ To this Undertaking, though too great for Us,
 “ We are apt to think ourselves so much the more
 “ strongly engaged, by how much the more We are
 “ sensible, that as our Sins have been the greatest
 “ causes, so our many follies and imprudences have
 “ not been the least means of giving both birth and
 “ growth to those many miseries, and calamities,
 “ which We, together with three once most flourish-
 “ ing Kingdoms, do at this day sadly groan under.

“ It is not, the Lord knows, it is not pleasing unto
 “ Us, nor can We believe it will be grateful to your
 “ Majesty, that We should recur to the beginnings,

" rise, and root of the late unhappy-differences be- B O O K
 " wixt your Royal Father and the Parliament. In XV.
 " such a discourse as this, We may seem, perhaps,
 " rather to go about to make the Wounds bleed
 " afresh, than to endeavour the curing of them: yet
 " forasmuch as We do profess, that We come not
 " with Corrosives but with Balsams, and that our
 " desire is not to hurt but heal, not to pour Vinegar
 " but Oil into the wounds, We hope your Majesty
 " will give Us leave to open them gently, that We
 " may apply remedies the more aptly, and discover
 " our own past errors the more clearly.

" In what posture the Affairs of these Nations
 " stood, before the noise of Drums and Trumpets
 " disturbed the sweet harmony that was amongst Us,
 " is not unknown to your Majesty: that We were
 " blest with a long Peace, and together with it, with
 " riches, wealth, plenty, and abundance of all things,
 " the lovely companions and beautiful products of
 " Peace, must ever be acknowledged with thank-
 " fulness to God, the Author of it, and with a grate-
 " ful veneration of the Memory of those Princes,
 " your Father, and Grandfather, by the propitious
 " Influence of whose care, and wisdom, We thus
 " flourished. But, as it is observed in natural Bodies,
 " idleness, and fulness of diet, do for the most part
 " lay the foundation of those Maladies, and secretly
 " nourish those diseases, which can hardly be expel-
 " led by the assistance of the most skillful Physician,
 " and seldom without the use of the most loathsome
 " Medicines, nay sometimes not without the hazar-
 " dous trial of the most dangerous Experiments; so

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“ did We find it, by sad experience, to be in this
“ great Body Politic. It cannot be denied, but the
“ whole Common-wealth was faint, the whole Na-
“ tion sick, the whole Body out of order, every
“ Member thereof feeble, and every part thereof
“ languishing. And in this so general, and universal
“ a distemper, that there should be no weakness nor
“ infirmity, no unsoundness in the Head, cannot
“ well be imagined. We are unwilling to enumerate
“ particulars, the mention whereof would but renew
“ old griefs, but, in general, We may say, and We
“ think it will gain the easy assent of all Men, that
“ there were many errors, many defects, many
“ excesses, many irregularities, many illegal and
“ eccentric Proceedings (some of which were in
“ matters of the highest and greatest concerns)
“ manifestly appearing as blots, and stains, upon the
“ otherwise good Government of the late King. That
“ these proceeded from the pravity of his own dispo-
“ sition, or from Principles of Tyranny radicated
“ and implanted in his own Nature. We do not see
“ how it can be asserted, without apparent injury to
“ the truth; it being confessed, even by his most
“ peevish Enemies, that he was a Gentleman, as of
“ the most strong and perfect Intellectuals, so of the
“ best and purest Morals, of any Prince that ever
“ swayed the *English* Sceptre. This the then Parlia-
“ ment being sensible of, and desirous, out of a
“ Zeal they had to the honor of their Sovereign, to
“ disperse and dispel those black Clouds that were
“ contracted about him, that he might shine the
“ more glorious in the beauty of his own Lustre,

“ thought themselves engaged in duty to endeavour
 “ to redeem, and rescue him from the violent and
 “ strong impulses of his evil Counsellors; who did
 “ captivate him at their pleasures to their own cor-
 “ rupt Lusts, and did every day thrust him into
 “ Actions prejudicial to himself, and destructive to
 “ the Common Good and Safety of the People.

“ Upon this Account, and to this, and no other
 “ end, were We at first invited to take up Arms;
 “ and though We have too great cause to conclude
 “ from what We have since seen acted, that, under
 “ those plausible, and gilded pretences of Liberty
 “ and Reformation, there were secretly managed
 “ the hellish designs of wicked, vile, and ambitious
 “ Persons (whom though then, and for a long time
 “ after, concealed, Providence, and the Series of
 “ things, have since discovered to Us) yet We bless
 “ God, that We went out in the simplicity of our
 “ Souls, aiming at nothing more but what was pub-
 “ licly owned in the face of the Sun; and that We
 “ were so far from entertaining any thoughts of cast-
 “ ing off our Allegiance to his Majesty, or extirpa-
 “ ting his Family, that We had not the least inten-
 “ tions of so much as abridging him of any of his just
 “ Prerogatives, but only of restraining those excesses
 “ of Government for the future, which were nothing
 “ but the excrescences of a wanton Power, and were
 “ more truly to be accounted the burdens, than
 “ ornaments of his Royal Diadem.

“ These things, Sir We are bold to make recital
 “ of to your Majesty; not that We suppose your
 “ Majesty to be ignorant of them, or that We take

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“delight to derive the Pedigree of our own, and the
“Nation’s misfortunes; but, like poor wildered
“Travellers, perceiving that We have lost our way,
“We are necessitated, though with tired and irksome
“steps, thus to walk the same ground over again,
“that We may discover where it was that We first
“turned aside, and may institute a more prosperous
“course in the progress of our Journey. Thus far
“We can say We have gone right, keeping the road
“of honesty and sincerity, and having as yet done
“nothing but what We think We are able to justify,
“not by those weak and beggarly Arguments,
“drawn either from success, which is the same to the
“just and to the unjust, or from the silence and satis-
“faction of a becalmed Conscience, which is more
“often the effect of blindness than Virtue, but from
“the sure, safe, sound, and unerring Maxims of law,
“justice, reason, and righteousness.

“In all the rest of our motions ever since to this
“very day, We must confess, We have been wan-
“dering, deviating, and roving up and down, this
“way and that way, through all the dangerous,
“uncouth, and untrodden Paths of Fanatic and
“Enthusiastic Notions, till now at last, but too
“late, We find ourselves intricated and involved
“in so many Windings, Labyrinths, and Mean-
“ders of knavery, that nothing but a divine clew
“of thread, handed to Us from Heaven, can be
“sufficient to extricate Us, and restore Us. We
“know not, whether We have juster matter of shame
“or sorrow administered to Us, when We take a
“reflex view of our past Actions, and consider into

" the Commission of what crimes, impieties, wicked-
 " nesses, and unheard of Villanies, We have been
 " led, cheated, cozened, and betrayed, by that
 " grand Impostor, that loathsome Hypocrite, that
 " detestable Traytor, that Prodigy of nature, that
 " *opprobrium* of Mankind, that Landskip of iniqui-
 " ty, that Sink of Sin, and that Compendium of
 " baseness, who now calls himself our Protector.
 " What have We done nay, what have We Not
 " done, which either hellish Policy was able to
 " contrive, or brutish power to execute? We have
 " trampled under foot all Authorities; We have
 " laid violent hands upon our own Sovereign; We
 " have ravished our Parliaments: We have deflour-
 " ed the Virgin-Liberty of our Nation; We have
 " put a Yoke, a heavy Yoke of Iron, upon the
 " Necks of our own Country men; We have thrown
 " down the Walls and Bulwarks of the People's
 " safety; We have broken often-repeated Oaths,
 " Vows, Engagements, Covenants, Protestations;
 " We have betrayed our Trusts; We have violated
 " our Faiths; We have lifted up our hands to Hea-
 " ven deceitfully; and that these our Sins might
 " want no aggravation to make them exceeding sin-
 " ful, We have added Hypocrisy to them all; and
 " have not only, like the audacious Strumpet, wiped
 " our Mouths, and boasted *that We have done no*
 " *evil*; but in the midst of all our abominations (such
 " as are too bad to be named amongst the worst of
 " Heathens) We have not wanted impudence enough
 " to say, let the Lord be glorified: let Jesus Christ
 " be exalted: let his Kingdom be advanced: let the

BOOK " Gospel be propagated: let the Saints be dignified:
 XV, " let Righteousness be established: *Pudet hæc oppro-*

bria Nobis aut dici potuisse, aut non potuisse refelli.

" Will not the holy one of *Israel* visit? will not
 " the Righteous one punish? will not He who is the
 " true and faithful one, be avenged for such things
 " as these? will he not, nay has he not already, come
 " forth as a swift witness against Us? has he not
 " whet his Sword? has he not bent his Bow? has
 " he not prepared his Quiver? has he not already
 " begun to shoot his Arrows at Us? who is so blind
 " as not to see that the hand of the Almighty is upon
 " Us, and that his Anger waxes hotter and hotter
 " against Us? How have our Hopes been blasted?
 " how have our Expectations been disappointed?
 " how have our ends been frustrated? All those
 " pleasant Gourds, under which We were sometimes
 " solacing and caressing ourselves, how are they
 " perished in a moment? how are they withered in
 " a Night: how are they vanished, and come to no-
 " thing? Righteous is the Lord, and righteous are
 " all his judgments. We have sown the wind, and
 " We have reaped a whirlwind; We have sown
 " faction, and We have reaped confusion; We have
 " sown folly, and We have reaped deceit, when We
 " looked for liberty, behold slavery; when We ex-
 " pected righteousness, behold oppression; when
 " We sought for justice, behold a Cry, a great, and a
 " lamentable Cry throughout the whole Nation.

" Every Man's hand is upon his Loins, every one
 " complaining, sighing, mourning, lamenting, and
 " saying, I am pained, I am pained, pain and anguish,

“ and sorrow, and perplexity of Spirit has taken hold
 “ upon me, like the pains of a Woman in travail.
 “ Surely We may take up the lamentation of the Pro-
 “ phet concerning this the Land of our Nativity.
 “ How does *England* sit solitary? how is she become
 “ as a Widow? she, that was great amongst the Na-
 “ tions, and Princess among the Provinces, how is
 “ she now become tributary? she weepeth sore in
 “ the Night; her Tears are on her Cheeks; amongst
 “ all her Lovers she hath None to comfort her; all
 “ her Friends have dealt treacherously with her,
 “ they are become her Enemies; she lifteth up her
 “ voice in the Streets, she crieth aloud in the Gates
 “ of the City, in the places of chief concourse, she
 “ sitteth, and thus We hear her wailing and bemoan-
 “ ing her condition; is it nothing to you, all ye
 “ that pass by? behold, and see if there be any sorrow
 “ like unto my sorrow, which is done unto me,
 “ wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day
 “ of his fierce Anger. The Yoke of my Transgres-
 “ sions is bound by his hands, they are wreathed,
 “ and come up upon my Neck; he hath made my
 “ strength to fall, the Lord hath delivered me into
 “ Their hands from whom I am not able to rise up.
 “ The Lord hath trodden under foot all my mighty
 “ Men in the midst of me; he hath called an Assem-
 “ bly to crush my young men; he hath trodden me as
 “ in a Wine-press; all that pass by clap their hands
 “ at me, they hiss and wag their heads at me, saying,
 “ is this the Nation that Men call the perfection of
 “ Beauty? the joy of the whole Earth? all mine
 “ Enemies have opened their Mouths against me;

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“ they hiss and gnash their teeth ; they say, We have
“ swallowed her up ; certainly this is the day that We
“ looked for, We have found, We have seen it. .

“ How are our Bowels troubled ? how are our
“ Hearts saddened ? how are our Souls afflicted, whilst
“ We hear the groans, whilst We see the desolation
“ of our dear Country ? it pitieth Us, it pitieth Us,
“ that Sion should lie any longer in the dust. But,
“ alas ! what shall We do for her in this day of her
“ great Calamity ? We were sometimes wise to pull
“ down, but We now want art to build ; We were
“ ingenious to pluck up, but We have no skill to plant ;
“ We were strong to destroy, but We are weak to
“ restore : whither shall We go for help ? or to whom
“ shall We address ourselves for Relief ? if We say,
“ We will have recourse to Parliaments, and They
“ shall save Us ; behold, They are broken Reeds,
“ Reeds shaken with the wind, They cannot save
“ Themselves. If We turn to the Army, and say,
“ They are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh,
“ it may be They will, at last, have pity upon us,
“ and deliver Us ; behold, They are become as a rod
“ of Iron to bruise Us, rather than a staff of Strength
“ to support Us. If We go to him who hath treache-
“ rously usurped, and does Tyrannically exercise
“ an unjust Power over Us, and say to him, free us
“ from this Yoke, for it oppresseth Us, and from
“ these burdens, for they are heavier than either We
“ are, or our Fathers ever were, able to bear ;
“ behold, in the Pride and Haughtiness of his Spirit,
“ he answers Us, you are Factious, you are Factious ;
“ if your burdens are heavy, I will make them yet

" heavier if I have hitherto chastised you with Whips, B O O K
" I will henceforward chastise you with Scorpions. XV.

" Thus do We fly, like Partridges hunted, from
" hill to hill, and from mountain to mountain, but
" can find no rest; We look this way, and that way,
" but there is none to save, none to deliver. At last
" we begun to whisper, and but to whisper only,
" among ourselves, saying one to another, why
" should We not return to our first Husband? surely
" it will be better with Us then, than it is now. At
" the first starting of this question amongst Us, many
" doubts, many fears, many jealousies, many suspi-
" cions did arise within Us. We were conscious to
" ourselves, that We had dealt unkindly with him,
" that We had treacherously forsaken him, that We
" had defiled ourselves with other Lovers, and that
" our filchiness was still upon our skirts: therefore
" were We apt to conclude, if We do not return
" unto him, how can he receive Us? or if he does
" receive Us, how can he love Us? how can he par-
" don the injuries We have done unto him? how
" can he forget the unkindness We have shown unto
" him in the day of his distress?

" We must confess (for We come not to deceive
" your Majesty, but to speak the truth in simpli-
" city) that these cowardly Apprehensions did, for a
" while, make some strong impressions upon Us; and
" had almost frightened Us out of our newly conceived
" thoughts of Duty and Loyalty. But it was not
" long before they vanished, and gave place to the
" more Noble and Heroic considerations of Com-
" mon Good, Public Safety, the Honor, Peace,

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“ Welfare, and Prosperity, of these Nations; all
“ which We are persuaded, and do find, though by
“ too late Experience, are as inseparably, and as nat-
“ urally bound up in your Majesty, as heat in fire,
“ or light in the Sun. Contemning therefore, and
“ disdaining, the mean and low thoughts of our own
“ private Safety (which We have no cause to despair
“ of, having to deal with so good and so gracious a
“ Prince) We durst not allow of any longer debate
“ about matters of Personal concernment; but did
“ think ourselves engaged in Duty, Honor, and
“ Conscience, to make this our humble Address unto
“ your Majesty, and to leave ourselves at the feet
“ of your Mercy; yet, lest We should seem to be
“ altogether negligent of that first good, though since
“ dishonored, Cause, which God has so eminently
“ owned Us in, and to be unmindful of the Security
“ of those, who, together with ourselves, being
“ carried away with the delusive, and hypocritical
“ pretences of wicked and ungodly Men, have igno-
“ rantly, not maliciously, been drawn into a concur-
“ rence with those Actions which may render them
“ justly obnoxious to your Majesty’s Indignation,
“ We have presumed in all humility to offer unto
“ your Majesty these few Propositions hereunto
“ annexed; to which if your Majesty shall be pleased
“ graciously to condescend, We do solemnly protest
“ in the presence of Almighty God, before whose
“ Tribunal We know we must one day appear, that
“ We will hazard our Lives, and all that is dear unto
“ Us, for the restoring, and re-establishing your Ma-
“ jesty in the Throne of your Father; and that We

" will never be wanting in a ready and willing com- B O O K
 " pliance to your Majesty's Commands to approve xv.
 " ourselves,

" Your Majesty's

" Most humble, most faithful,

" and most devoted Subjects and Servants,

W Howard.

John Wildman.

Ralph Jennings.

John Aumigeu.

Edw. Penkaruan.

Randolph Hedworth.

John Hedworth.

Thomas

John Sturgion.

Rich. Reynolds.

" The earnest desires of the Subscribers, in all hu- Their Propo-
 " mility presented to your Majesty in these fol- sitions annex-
 " lowing Proposals, in order to a happy, speedy, ed to it.
 " and well grounded Peace in these your Majes-
 " ty's Dominions.

1. " *Forasmuch* as the Parliament, called and con-
 " vened by the Authority of his late Majesty your
 " Royal Father, in the year 1640, was never legally
 " Dissolved; but did continue their Sitting until the
 " year 1648, at which time the Army, violently and
 " treasonably breaking in upon them, did, and has
 " ever since given a continued Interruption to their
 " Session, by taking away the whole House of Lords,
 " and secluding the greatest part of the House of Com-
 " mons, it is therefore humbly desired that (to the
 " end We may be established upon the ancient basis
 " and foundation of Law) your Majesty would be
 " pleased, by public Proclamations, as soon as it

BOOK XV. " shall be judged seasonable, to invite all those Per-
 sons, as well Lords as Commons, who were then
 " Sitting, to return to their places; and that your
 " Majesty would own them (so convened and met
 " together) to be the true and lawful Parliament of
 " *England*.

2. " That your Majesty would concur with the
 " Parliament in the Ratification and Confirmation
 " of all those things granted, and agreed unto by the
 " late King your Father, at the last and fatal Treaty
 " in the Isle of *Wight*; as also in the making and
 " repealing of all such Laws, Acts, and Statutes, as
 " by the Parliament shall be judged expedient and
 " necessary to be made, and repealed, for the better
 " securing of the just and natural Rights and Liberties
 " of the People, and for the obviating, and prevent-
 " ing all dangerous and destructive excesses of Go-
 " vernment for the future.

3. " *Forasmuch* as it cannot be denied, but that our
 " Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by his Death and
 " Resurrection, has purchased the Liberties of his
 " own People, and is thereby become their sole Lord
 " and King, to whom, and to whom only, they owe
 " obedience in things Spiritual; We do therefore
 " humbly beseech your Majesty, that you would
 " engage your Royal Word never to erect, nor suf-
 " fer to be erected, any such Tyrannical, Popish, and
 " Antichristian Hierarchy (Episcopal, Presbyterian,
 " or by what name soever it be called) as shall assume
 " a power over, or impose a yoke upon, the Con-
 " sciences of others; but that every one of your Ma-
 " jesty's Subjects may hereafter be left at liberty to

“ worship God in such a way, form, and manner, as
 “ shall appear to them to be agreeable to the mind
 “ and will of Christ, revealed in his word, according
 “ to that proportion, or measure of faith and know-
 “ ledge which they have received.

4. “ *Forasmuch* as the Exaction of Tithes is a bur-
 “ den under which the whole Nation groans in
 “ general, and the People of God in particular, We
 “ would therefore crave leave humbly to offer it to
 “ your Majesty’s consideration, that, if it be possible,
 “ some other way may be found out for the mainte-
 “ nance of that which is called the National Ministry;
 “ and that those of the separated and congregated
 “ Churches may not (as hitherto they have been,
 “ and still are) be compelled to contribute thereunto.

5. “ *Forasmuch* as in these times of Licence, Confu-
 “ sion, and Disorder, many honest, godly, and reli-
 “ gious Persons, by the crafty devices and cunning
 “ pretences of wicked Men, have been ignorantly,
 “ and blindly led, either into the commission of, or
 “ compliance with many vile, illegal, and abomina-
 “ ble Actions, whereof they are now ashamed, We
 “ do therefore most humbly implore your Majesty,
 “ that an Act of Amnesty and Oblivion may be grant-
 “ ed for the pardoning, acquitting, and discharging,
 “ all your Majesty’s long deceived, and deluded
 “ Subjects, from the guilt and imputation of all Cri-
 “ mes, Treasons, and Offences whatsoever, com-
 “ mitted or done by them, or any of them, either
 “ against your Majesty’s Father, or your Self, since
 “ the beginning of these unhappy Wars, excepting
 “ only such who do adhere to that ugly Tyrant who

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" calls himself Protector, or who, in justification of
" His, or any other Interest, shall, after the publica-
" tion of this Act of Grace, continue and persevere in
" their disloyalty to your Majesty.

The Gentleman who brought this Address; and these wild Propositions, brought likewise with him a particular Letter to the King from the Gentleman that is before described; upon whose temper, ingenuity, and interest the Messenger principally depended, having had much acquaintance and conversation with him; who, though he was an Anabaptist, made himself merry with the extravagancy and madness of his Companions; and told this Gentleman, " that, " though the first Address could not be prepared but " with those Demands, which might satisfy the whole " Party, and comprehend all that was desired by any " of them, yet if the King gave them such an encouragement, as might dispose them to send some of " the wisest of them to attend his Majesty, he would " be able, upon conference with them, to make them " his Instruments to reduce the rest to more moderate " desires, when they should discern, that they might " have more protection and security from the King, " than from any other Power that would assume the " Government. "

The Letter was as followeth.

" May it please your Majesty,

The Letter to
the King sent
with the
Address.

" Time, the great discoverer of all things, has at
" last unmasked the disguised designs of this Myster-
" rious Age, and made that obvious to the dull sense
" of Fools, which was before visible enough to the
quick-

“ quick-sighted prudence of Wise Men, viz. that
 “ Liberty, Religion, and Reformation, the wonted
 “ Engines of Politicians, are but deceitful baits, by
 “ which the easily deluded Multitude are tempted to
 “ a greedy pursuit of their own ruin. In the unhappy
 “ number of these Fools, I must confess myself to
 “ have been one; who have nothing more now to
 “ boast of, but only that, as I was not the first was
 “ cheated, so I was not the last was undeceived;
 “ having long since, by peeping a little (now and
 “ then, as I had opportunity) under the Vizard of
 “ the Impostor, got such glimpses, though but im-
 “ perfect ones, of his ugly face, concealed under the
 “ painted pretences of Sanctity, as made me conclude,
 “ that the Series of Affairs, and the revolution of a
 “ few years, would convince this blinded Generation
 “ of their Errors; and make them affrightedly to start
 “ from Him, as a prodigious piece of deformity,
 “ whom they adored and revered as the beautiful
 “ Image of a Deity. ”

“ Nor did this my expectation fail me: God, who
 “ glories in no Attribute more than to be acknow-
 “ ledged the Searcher of the inward parts, could no
 “ longer endure the bold Affronts of this audacious
 “ Hypocrite; but, to the astonishment and confusion
 “ of all his Idolatrous worshippers, has, by the un-
 “ searchable wisdom of his deep laid Counsels, lighted
 “ such a Candle into the dark Dungeon of his Soul,
 “ that there is none so blind who does not plainly
 “ read Treachery, Tyranny, Perfidiousness, Diffi-
 “ mulation, Atheism, Hypocrisy; and all manner of
 “ Villany, written in large Characters on his heart;

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“ nor is there any one remaining, who dares open
“ his mouth in justification of him, for fear of incur-
“ ring the deserved Character of being a professed
“ Advocate for all wickedness, and a sworn Enemy
“ to all Virtue.

“ This was no sooner brought forth, but presently
“ I conceived hopes of being able, in a short time, to
“ put in practice those thoughts of Loyalty to your
“ Majesty, which had long had entertainment in my
“ breast, but till now were forced to seek conceal-
“ ment under a seeming conformity to the iniquity of
“ the Times. A fit opportunity of giving birth to
“ these designs, was happily administered by the fol-
“ lowing occasion.

“ Great was the rage, and just the indignation of
“ the People, when they first found the Authority
“ of their Parliament swallowed up in the new Name
“ of a Protector; greater was their fury, and upon
“ better grounds, when they observed that, under
“ the silent, modest, and flattering Title of this Pro-
“ tector, was secretly assumed a Power more absolute,
“ more arbitrary, more unlimited, than ever was
“ pretended to by any King. The Pulpits strait-
“ ways sound with Declamations, the Streets are
“ filled with Pasquils and Libels, every one expresses
“ a detestation of this Innovation by public Invec-
“ tives, and all the Nation, with one accord, seems
“ at once to be inspired with one and the same reso-
“ lution of endeavouring valiantly to redeem that
“ Liberty, by Arms and Force, which was Treach-
“ erously stolen from them by Deceit and Fraud.
“ When they had for a while exercised themselves

“ in tumultuary discourses (the first effects of Popular
 “ discontents) at length they begin to contrive by
 “ what means to free themselves from the yoke that
 “ is upon them. In order hereunto, several of the
 “ chiefest of the Malecontents enter into consultations
 “ amongst themselves; to which they were pleas'd
 “ to invite and admit Me. Being taken into their
 “ Councils, and made privy to their Debates, I
 “ thought it my work to acquaint myself fully with
 “ the tempers, inclinations, dispositions, and prin-
 “ ciples of them, which (though all meeting and
 “ concentrating in an irreconcilable Hatred and Ani-
 “ mosity against the Usurper) I find so various in
 “ their ends, and so contrary in the means conducing
 “ to those ends, that they do naturally fall under the
 “ distinction of different Parties. Some, drunk with
 “ Enthusiasms, and besotted with Fanatic notions,
 “ do allow of none to have a share in Government
 “ besides the Saints; and these are called *Christian*
 “ *Royalists*, or *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*; others violently
 “ opposing This, as destructive to the Liberty of the
 “ Free-born People, strongly contend to have the
 “ Nation governed by a continual Succession of Par-
 “ liaments, consisting of equal Representatives; and
 “ these style themselves *Common-Wealth-Men*. A
 “ third Party there is, who finding, by the observa-
 “ tion of these times, that Parliaments are better
 “ Physic than food, seem to incline most to Mo-
 “ narchy, if laid under such restrictions as might free
 “ the People from the fear of Tyranny; and these
 “ are contented to suffer under the opprobrious Name
 “ of *Levellers*; to these did I particularly apply my

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“ self; and after some few days conference with them
“ in private by themselves apart, I was so happy in
“ my endeavours, as to prevail with some of them to
“ lay aside those vain and idle prejudices, grounded
“ rather upon passion than judgment, and return, as
“ their duty engaged them, to their obedience to
“ your Majesty. Having proceeded thus far, and
“ gained as many of the chief of them whom I knew
“ to be Leaders of the rest, as could safely be intrusted
“ with a business of this nature (the success whereof
“ does principally depend upon the secret manage-
“ ment of it) I thought I had nothing more now to
“ do, but only to confirm and establish them, as well
“ as I could, in their infant Allegiance, by engaging
“ them so far in a humble Address unto your Ma-
“ jesty, that they might not know how to make
“ either a safe or honorable Retreat.

“ I must leave it to the Ingenuity of this worthy
“ Gentleman, by whose hands it is conveyed, to
“ make answer to any such objections as may per-
“ haps be made by your Majesty, either as to the
“ matter or manner of it. This only I would put your
“ Majesty in mind of, that they are but young Pro-
“ felytes, and are to be driven *lento pede*, lest, being
“ urged at first too violently, they should resist the
“ more refractorily.”

“ As to the Quality of the Persons, I cannot say
“ they are either of great Families, or great Estates.
“ But this I am confident of, that, whether it be by
“ their own virtue, or by the misfortune of the times,
“ I will not determine, they are such who may be
“ more serviceable to your Majesty in this conjunc-

" ture, than those whose Names swell much bigger
 " than Theirs with the Addition of great Titles. I
 " durst not undertake to persuade your Majesty to
 " any thing, being ignorant by what Maxims your
 " Counsels are governed ; but this I shall crave leave
 " to say, that I have often observed, that a desperate
 " game at Chefs has been recovered after the loss of
 " the Nobility, only by playing the pawns well ;
 " and that the Subscribers may not be of the same
 " use to your Majesty, if well managed, I cannot
 " despair, especially at such a time as this, when there
 " is scarce any thing but pawns left upon the board,
 " and those few others that are left, may justly be
 " complained of in the words of *Tacitus, presentia &*
 " *tuta, quam vetera, & periculosa malunt omnes.*

" I have many things more to offer unto your Ma-
 " jesty, but fearing I have already given too bold a
 " trouble, I shall defer the mention of them at pre-
 " sent ; intending, as soon as I hear how your Ma-
 " jesty resents this Overture, to wait upon your Ma-
 " jesty in Person, and then to communicate that *viva*
 " *voce*, which I cannot bring within the narrow com-
 " pafs of an Address of this nature. In the mean time,
 " if our Services shall be judged useful to your Ma-
 " jesty, I shall humbly desire some speedy course
 " may be taken for the Advance of 2000 pound, as
 " well for the answering the expectation of those
 " whom I have already engaged, as for the defraying
 " of several other necessary expenses, which do, and
 " will every day inevitably come upon us in the pro-
 " secution of our design.

" What more is expedient to be done by your

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“ Majesty, in order to the encouragement and satisfaction of those Gentlemen who already are, or hereafter may be, brought over to the assistance of your Majesty’s Cause and Interest, I shall commit to the care of this honorable Person; who being no stranger to the complection, and constitution of those with whom I have to deal, is able sufficiently to inform your Majesty by what ways and means they may be laid under, the strongest obligations to your Majesty’s Service.

“ For my own part, as I do now aim at nothing more, than only to give your Majesty a small Essay of my zeal for, and absolute devotion to your Majesty, so I have nothing more to beg of your Majesty, but that you would be pleased to account me,

“ May it please your Majesty, &c.

The King believed that these distempers might, in some conjuncture, be of use to him; and therefore returned the general Answer that is mentioned before; and “ that he would be willing to confer with some Persons of that Party, trusted by the rest, if they would come over to him;” his Majesty being then at *Bruges*: upon which that young Gentleman came over thither to him, and remained some days there concealed. He was a Person of very extraordinary parts, sharpness of Wit, readiness and volubility of Tongue, but an Anabaptist. He had been bred in the University of *Cambridge*, and afterwards in the Inns of Court; but being too young to have known the Religion, or the Government of the precedent time, and his Father having been engaged

from the beginning against the King, he had sucked in the opinions that were most prevalent, and had been a Soldier in *Cromwell's* Life-Guard of Horse, when he was thought to be most resolved to establish a Republic. But when that Mask was pulled off, he detested him with that rage, that he was of the combination with those who resolved to destroy him by what way soever; and was very intimate with *Syndercome*. He had a great confidence of the strength and power of that Party; and confessed that their demands were extravagant, and such as the King could not grant; which, after they were once engaged in blood, he doubted not they would recede from, by the credit the Wiser Men had amongst them. He returned into *England* very well satisfied with the King; and did afterwards correspond very faithfully with his professions; but left the King without any hope of other benefit from that Party, than by their increasing the faction and animosity against *Cromwell*: for it was manifest they expected a good Sum of present Money from the King; which could not be in his power to supply.

Whilst these things were transacting, the King found every day, that the *Spaniards* so much despaired of his Cause, that they had no mind to give him any Assistance with which he might make an attempt upon *England*; and that, if they had been never so well disposed, they were not able to do it: and therefore he resolved that he would not, in a Country that was so great a Scene of War, live unactive and unconcerned: so his Majesty sent to *Don Juan*, "that he would accompany him in the Field the next

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The King
sent to Don
Juan " that
he would

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“ the company
 “ turn into
 “ the field;”
 which is re-
 fused.

“ Campaign, without expecting any Ceremony, or putting him to any trouble.” But the *Spaniards* sent him a formal Message, and employed the Earl of *Bristol*, to excuse them from consenting, or admitting his Proposition, and to dissuade his Majesty from affecting so unreasonably exposing his Person. They said, “ that they could not answer it to his Catholic Majesty, if they should permit his Majesty, when “ his two Brothers were already in the Army, and “ known to affect danger so much as they did, like- “ wise to engage his own Royal Person; which they “ positively protested against.” And when they afterwards saw, that it was not in their power to restrain him from such Adventures, whilst he remained at *Bruges*, which was now become a Frontier by the Neighbourhood of *Mardike*, and particularly that, under pretence of visiting the Duke of *York*, who lay then at *Dunkirk* to make some attempt in the Winter upon that Fort, his Majesty having notice, what night they intended to assault it, went some days before to *Dunkirk*, and was present in that Action, and so near that many were killed about him, and the Marquis of *Ormond*, who was next to him, had his Horse killed under him: they were willing his Majesty should remove to *Brussels*; which they would never before consent to; and which was in many respects most grateful to him. And so, towards the Spring, and before the Armies were in motion, he left *Bruges*, where he had received, both from the Bishop and the Magistrates, all possible respect, there being at that time a *Spaniard*, *Mark Ogniate*, Burgo-Master, who, being born of an *English* Mother, had

The King
 present in
 the assault
 upon *Mardike*.

The King
 leaves *Bruges*, and re-
 moves to
Brussels in
 the end of
 Feb. 1658.

all imaginable duty for the King, and being a Man of excellent parts, and very dexterous in business, was very serviceable to his Majesty; which he ever afterwards acknowledged; and about the end of *February*, in the year by that Account 1658, he went to *Brussels*, and never after returned to *Bruges* to reside there.

His Majesty was no sooner come thither, but *Don Alonzo* renewed his advices, and importunity, that he would make a conjunction with the Levellers. He had formerly prevailed with him to admit their Agent, one *Sexby*, to confer with him; which his Majesty willingly consented to, presuming that *Sexby* might be privy to the Address that had been made to him by the same Party; which he was not, though they that sent the Address well knew of his employment to the *Spaniard*, and had no mind to trust him to the King, at least not so soon. The Man, for an illiterate Person, spoke very well, and properly; and used those words very well, the true meaning and signification whereof he could not understand. He had been, in the beginning, a Common-Soldier of *Cromwell's* Troops, and was afterwards one of those Agitators who were made use of to control the Parliament; and had so great an Interest in *Cromwell*, that he was frequently his Bed-fellow; a familiarity, he often admitted those to whom he employed in any great Trust, and with whom he could not so freely converse, as in those hours. He was very perfect in the History of *Cromwell's* dissimulations, and would describe his Artifices to the life, and did very well understand the temper of the Army, and very much

An account
of Sexby
and his Ne-
gotiation.

B O O K undervalue the credit, and interest of the King's Party;
XV. and made such demands to the King, as if it were in his power, and his alone, to restore him; in which *Don Alonzo* concurred so totally, that, when he saw that the King would not be advised by him, he sent his Friend *Sezby* into *Spain* to conclude there; and, upon the matter, wholly withdrew himself from so much as visiting the King. And there need not be any other Character or description of the Stupidity of that *Spaniard*, than that such a Fellow, with the help of an *Irish* Priest, should be able to cozen him, and make him to cozen his Master of ten thousand Pistoles; for he received not less than that in *Flanders*, whatever else he got by his Journey to *Madrid*; which did not use to be of small expense to that Court.

Nothing that was yet to come, could be more manifest, than it was to all discerning Men, that the first design the *French* Army would undertake, when they should begin their Campaign, must be the Siege of *Dunkirk*; without taking which, *Mardike* would do them little good: besides, their Contract with *Cromwell* was no Secret; yet the *Spaniards* totally neglected making provisions to defend it; being persuaded by some Intelligence they always purchased at a great rate, to deceive themselves, that the *French* would begin the Campaign with besieging *Cambray*. In the beginning of the year, the Marquis *de Leyde*, Governor of *Dunkirk*, and the best Officer they had, in all respects, came to *Brussels*, having sent several Expresses thither to no purpose to solicit for supplies. He told them, "that his Intelligence was infallible, that Marechal *Turenne* was ready to march,

The Marquis de Leyde came to Brussels to solicit for supplies for Dunkirk, but in vain.

“ and that the *French* King himself would be in the
 “ Field to countenance the Siege of *Dunkirk*, which
 “ he could not defend, if he were not supplied with
 “ Men, Ammunition, and Victual;” of all which he
 stood in great need, and of neither of which he could
 get supply; They telling him, “ that he would not
 “ be besieged; that they were sure the *French* meant
 to attempt *Cambray*; which they provided the best
 they could, and bid him be confident, “ that, if he
 “ were attacked, they would relieve him with their
 “ Army, and fight a Battle before he should be in
 “ danger.” Being able to procure no other Answer,
 he returned, and came to take his leave of the King
 as he went out of the Town, and complained very
 much to his Majesty of their Counsels, and deluding
 themselves with false Intelligence. He said, “ he was
 “ going to defend a Town without Men, without
 “ Ammunition, and without Victual, against a very
 “ strong and triumphant Army; that, if he could
 “ have obtained Supplies in any reasonable degree,
 “ he should have been able to have entertained them
 “ some time; but in the condition he was in, he could
 “ only lose his life there, which he was resolved to
 “ do:” and spoke as if he were very willing to do it;
 and was as good as his word.

Within three or four days after his return, the
French Army appeared before *Dunkirk*; and then the
Spaniard believed it; and made what haste they could
 to draw their Army together, which was very much
 dispersed, so that, before they were upon their
 march, the *French* had perfected their Circumvalla-
 tion, and rendered it impossible to put any Succours

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Dunkirk
 besieged by
 the *French*
 Army.

B O O K into the Town. Now they found it necessary indeed
xv. to hazard a Battle, which they had promised to do, when they intended nothing less. When the *Spaniards* had taken a full view of the posture the Enemy was in, and were thereupon to chuse their own ground, upon which they would be found, *Don Juan*, and the Marquis of *Carracena*, who agreed in nothing else, resolved how the Army should be ranged; which the Prince of *Condé* dissuaded them from; and told them very exactly what the Marechal *Turenne* would do in that case; "and that he would
 " still maintain the Siege, and give them likewise
 " Battle upon the advantage of the ground; whereas, if they would place their Army near another
 " part of the Line, they should easily have communication with the Town, and compel the *French* to
 " fight with more equal hazards."

The Prince
 of Condé's
 Advice to
 the Spaniards
 not
 hearkened to

It might very reasonably be said of the Prince of *Condé* and Marechal *Turenne*, what a good Roman Historian said heretofore of *Jugurtha* and *Marius*, that
 " in iisdem castris didicere, quæ postea in contrariis
 " fecere; They had in the same Armies learned that
 " Discipline, and those Stratagems, which they afterwards practised against each other in Enemy-Armies;" and it was a wonderful, and a pleasant thing to see and observe in Attacks or in Marches, with what foresight either of them would declare what the other would do: as the Prince of *Condé*, when the Armies marched near, and the *Spaniards* would not alter their formal lazy pace, nor their rest at noon, would in choler tell them, "if we do not
 " make great haste to possess such a Pass" (which they

never thought of) "Marechal *Turenne* will take it, though it be much farther from him;" and would then, when they considered not what he said, advance with his own Troops to possess the place, even when the *French* were come in view; and by such seasonable foresights saved the *Spanish* Army from many distresses. And Marechal *Turenne* had the same caution, and governed himself according as the Prince of *Condé* was in the Rear or Van of the Army; and, upon the matter, only considered where He was, and ordered his Marches accordingly; of which there was a very memorable Instance two years before, when the *Spanish* Army had Besieged *Arras*, and when the Duke of *York* was present with Marechal *Turenne*. The *Spaniards* had made themselves so very strong, that when the *French* Army came thither, they found that they could not compel them to fight, and that the Town must be lost if they did not force the Line. Marechal *Turenne*, accompanied with the Duke of *York*, who would never be absent upon those occasions, and some of the principal Officers, spent two or three days in viewing the Line round, and observing and informing himself of all that was to be known, and riding so near the Line very frequently, that some of his Company were killed within much less than Musquet-shot. In the end, he called some of the principal Officers, and said, "he would, that day at noon, assault the Line, at a place which he showed to them;" which the Officers wondered at; and said, "it was the strongest part of the Line; and that they had observed to him, that the whole Line on the other side was very much weaker;"

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BOOK to which the Marechal replied, "you do not know
 xv. " who keeps that Line; We shall do no good there;
 " *Monsieur le Prince* never sleeps, and that is His
 " Post; but I will tell you, what will fall out on the
 " other side;" for he had himself marched in the
Spanish Army, and very well understood the Customs
 of it. He told them then, "that it would be very
 " long, before the Soldiers upon the Line, or the
 " adjacent Guard, would believe that the *French*
 " were in earnest, and that they would in truth at
 " that time of day assault them; but would think,
 " that they meant only to give them an Alarm, which
 " they were never warm in receiving: that when the
 " *Spaniards* were convinced that the *French* were in
 " earnest, in which time he should be got near their
 " Line, they would send to the Count of *Fuensal-*
dagna, who at that time of day was usually asleep,
 " and his Servants would not be persuaded to waken
 " him in a Moment: He would then send for his
 " Horse, and ride up to the Line; which when he
 " saw, he would with some haste repair to the Arch-
 " Duke's Tent; who was likewise at his *Siesta*, and
 " when He was awake, they would consult what
 " was to be done;" by which time, the Marechal said,
 " They should have done:" And they did enter
 the Line accordingly, and found by the Prisoners,
 that every thing had fallen out as he had foretold.
 So the Siege was raised, the *Spaniards* fled without
 making any resistance, left their Cannon, Bag and
 Baggage, behind them: only the Prince of *Condé*
 was in so good order upon the first Alarm, that when
 he heard of the confusion they were in, he drew off

with his Cannon, and lost nothing that belonged to him, and marched with all his Men to a place of safety. BOOK XV.

Notwithstanding the advice which the Prince of Condé had given, *Don Juan* was positive in his first Resolution. The Prince, not without great indignation, consented; and drew up his Troops in the place they desired; and quickly saw all come to pass that he had foretold. The Country was most inclosed, so that the Horse could not fight but in small Bodies. The *English* Foot under *Lockhart* charged the *Spanish* Foot, and, after a good resistance, broke and routed them; after which there was not much more resistance on that side, the *Spanish* Horse doing no better than their Foot. Our King's Foot were placed by themselves upon a little rising ground, and were charged by the *French* Horse after the *Spanish* Foot were beaten. Some of them, and the greater part, marched off by the favor of the Inclosures, there not being above two hundred taken Prisoners. The Dukes of *York* and *Glocester* charged several times on Horse-back; and in the end, having gotten some Troops to go with them, charged the *English* (whom, though Enemies, they were glad to see behave themselves so well) and with great difficulty, and some blows of Musquets, got safe off. But there was a rumor spread in the *French* Army, that the Duke of *York* was taken Prisoner by the *English*, some Men undertaking to say that they saw him in their hands: whereupon many of the *French* Officers, and Gentlemen, resolved to set him at Liberty, and rode up to the Body of *English*, and looked upon all their

B O O K Prisoners, and found they were misinformed; which if
xv. they had not been, they would undoubtedly, at any hazard or danger, have enlarged him; so great an affection that Nation owned to have for his Highness.

Don Juan
 after the loss
 of the Battle
 retires to
 Ipres.

The Marquis
 de Leyde
 sallies upon
 the Enemy;
 is repulsed,
 and slain.

The day being thus lost with a greater Rout and Confusion than loss of Men, *Don Juan*, and the Marquis of *Carracena*, who behaved themselves in their own Persons with courage enough were contented to think better of the Prince of *Condé's* advice, by which they preserved the best part of the Army, and retired to *Ipres* and *Furnes*, and the Duke of *York* to *Newport*, that they might defend the rest when *Dunkirk* should be taken; which was the present business of *Marechal Turenne*; who found the Marquis *de Leyde* resolved to defend it, notwithstanding the defeat of the Army: and therefore he betook himself again to that work, as soon as the *Spanish* Army was retired into fastness. The Marquis *de Leyde*, when he saw there was no more hope of relief from *Don Juan*, which whilst he expected, he was wary in the hazard of his Men, was now resolved to try what he could do for himself: so with as strong a Party as he could make, he made a desperate Sally upon the Enemy; who, though he disordered them, were quickly so seconded, that they drove him back into the Town with great loss, after himself had received a wound, of which he died within three days after. And then the Officers sent to treat, which he would not consent to whilst he lived. The Marquis was a much greater loss than the Town; which the Master of the Field may be always Master of in two Months time at most. But in truth the death of
 the

the Marquis was an irreparable damage, he being a very wise Man, of great experience, great wisdom, and great piety, after his way; insomuch as he had an Intention to have taken Orders in the Church; to which he was most devoted.

Those in the Town had fair conditions to march to St. Omers, that they might not join with the Relics of their Army. The *French King* being by this time come to the Camp with the Cardinal, entered the Town, and took possession of it himself; which as soon as he had done, he delivered it into the hands of *Lockhart*, whom *Cromwell* had made Governor of it. Thus the Treaty was performed between them; and that King went presently to *Calais*, and from thence sent the Duke of *Crequi* together with *Mancini*, Nephew to the Cardinal, to *London* to visit *Cromwell*; who likewise sent his Son in Law, the Lord *Falconbridge*, to *Calais*, to congratulate with that King for their joint prosperity. And mutual professions were then renewed between them, with new obligation, "never to make Peace without each other's consent."

When *Don Juan* had first removed from *Brussels*, and the Army marched into the Field, the King had renewed his desire that he might likewise go with them, but was refused with the same positiveness he had been before. His Majesty thereupon resolved that he would not stay alone in *Brussels*, whilst all the world was in Action; but thought of some more private place, where he might take the Summer-Air, and refresh himself during that Season. He was the more confirmed in this upon the News of the defeat

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The King
retires to
Hochstraten
in Aug.

of the Army near *Dunkirk*, and the loss of that place: So he removed to a Village called *Hochstraten*; where there were very good Houses, capable to have received a greater Train than belonged to His Court. Thither the King went about the Month of *August*; the Village lying upon the skirts of the States Dominions in *Brabant*, and within five or six miles of *Breda*. sometimes he made Journies, *incognito*, to see places where he had not been before.

There a Man might have observed the great difference of the condition, which the Subjects in the States Dominions, even in the sight and view of the other, enjoy above what their Neighbours of the *Spanish Territories* are acquainted with. *Hochstraten* is an open Village, belonging to the Court of that name, and hath enjoyed very ample Privileges, the Owner thereof being one of the greatest Nobles in the Duchy of *Brabant*. It is pleasantly Seated, many very good Houses, and the Manor large of Extent, and of great Revenue. But by reason that it is always a Horse-quarter in the Winter-Season, who use great licence, it is so poor, that those good Houses have only Walls; so that the People had not Furniture to supply those Rooms which were for the accommodation of those who attended the King, though they were sure to be very well paid, and therefore used all the means they could to procure it. But there appeared poverty in the Faces and looks of the People, good Grounds without any Stock, and, in a word, nothing that looked well but the Houses, and those empty within: on the other side of a Line that is drawn (for a Man may set one Foot in the Domi-

nion that is reserved to the King of *Spain*, and the other in that which is assigned to the *Hollander*) the Houses, though not standing so thick, nor so beautiful without, clean, neat; and well furnished within; very good Linen, and some Plate in every House; the People jolly, well clothed, and with looks very well pleased; all the Grounds and Land fully stocked with all kind of Cattle, and, as if it were the Land of *Goshen*, the appearance of nothing but wealth, and fertility, encompassed with extreme barrenness, and unconceivable Poverty. And they on the *Holland*-side, that lies equally open, and undefended, can see the *Spanish* Troops exercise all Licence upon their poor Neighbours of *Hochstraten*; and yet the most dissolute among them dare not step into Their Quarters to take a Hen, or commit the least Trespass: so strictly the Articles of the Peace are observed.

Whilst the King spent his time in this manner, about the middle of *September*, the Duke of *York*, who remained still with the Troops at *Newport* to defend that place, as *Don Juan*, and the rest, remained about *Furnes* and *Bruges*, sent an express to the King to let him know, "that the Letters from *England*, and some Passengers, reported confidently "that *Cromwell* was dead;" which, there having been no News of his sickness, was not at first easily believed. But every day brought confirmation of it; so that his Majesty thought fit to give over his Country-Life, and returned again to *Brussels*, that he might be ready to make use of any advantage, which, in that conjuncture, upon so great an alteration, he might reasonably expect.

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The King
has notice
that *Crom-*
well was
dead.

The King
returns to
Brussels
upon it.

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Cromwell's
Affairs some
time before
his death.

It had been observed in *England*, that, though from the dissolution of the last Parliament, all things seemed to succeed, at home and abroad, to the Protector's wish, and his power and greatness to be better established than ever it had been, yet he never had the same serenity of mind he had been used to, after he had refused the Crown; but was out of countenance, and chagrin, as if he were conscious of not having been true to himself; and much more apprehensive of danger to his Person than he had used to be. Inasmuch as he was not easy of access, nor so much seen abroad; and seemed to be in some disorder, when his Eyes found any stranger in the room; upon whom they were still fixed. When He intended to go to *Hampton-Court*, which was his principal delight and diversion, it was never known, till he was in the Coach, which way he would go; and he was still hemmed in by his Guards both before and behind; and the Coach in which he went, was always thronged as full as it could be, with his Servants; who were armed; and he seldom returned the same way he went; and rarely lodged two Nights together in one Chamber, but had many furnished and prepared, to which his own Key conveyed him and those he would have with him, when he had a mind to go to bed: which made his fears the more taken notice of, and public, because he had never been accustomed to those precautions.

It is very true, he knew of many combinations to assassinate him, by those who, he believed, wished the King no good. And a good while before this, when he had discovered the design of *Syndercome*,

who was a very stout Man, and one who had been much in his favor, and who had twice or thrice, by wonderful and unexpected Accidents, been disappointed in the minute he made sure to kill him, and had caused him to be apprehended, his behaviour was so resolute in his Examination and Trial, as if he thought he should still be able to do it; and it was manifest that he had many more Associates, who were undiscovered and as resolute as himself; and though he had got him condemned to die, the Fellow's carriage and words were such, as if he knew well how to avoid the Judgment; which made *Cromwell* believe, that a Party in the Army would attempt his rescue; whereupon he gave strict charge, "that he should be carefully looked to in the Tower, "and three or four of the Guard always with him "day and night."

At the day appointed for his Execution, those Troops *Cromwell* was most confident of, were placed upon the Tower-Hill, where the Gallows were erected. But when the Guard called *Syndercome* to arise in the morning, they found him dead in his bed; which gave trouble exceedingly to *Cromwell*; for besides that he hoped, that, at his death, to avoid the utmost rigor of it, he would have confessed many of his Confederates, he now found himself under the reproach of having caused him to be poisoned, as not daring to bring him to public Justice: nor could he suppress that Scandal. It appeared upon Examination, that the night before, when he was going to bed in the presence of his Guard, his Sister came to take her leave of him; and upon her going

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design against
him a good
while before
this.

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away, he put off his Clothes, and leaped into his Bed, and said, "this was the last Bed he should ever go into." His Body was drawn by a Horse to the Gallows where he should have hanged, and buried under it, with a Stake driven through him, as is usual in the Case of self-Murderers: yet this Accident perplexed *Cromwell* very much; and though he was without the particular discovery which he expected, he made a general discovery by it, that he himself was more odious in his Army than he believed he had been.

The death of
the Earl of
Warwick,
and of the
Earl's
Grandson.

He seemed to be much afflicted at the death of his friend the Earl of *Warwick*; with whom he had a fast friendship; though neither their humors, nor their natures, were like. And the Heir of that House, who had married his youngest Daughter, died about the same time; so that all his relation to, or confidence in that Family was at an end; the other Branches of it abhorring his Alliance. His Domestic delights were lessened every day: he plainly discovered that his Son *Falconbridge's* heart was set upon an Interest destructive to his, and grew to hate him perfectly. But that which chiefly broke his peace, was the death of his Daughter *Claypole*; who had been always his greatest joy, and who, in her sickness, which was of a nature the Physicians knew not how to deal with, had several conferences with him, which exceedingly perplexed him. Though no body was near enough to hear the particulars, yet her often mentioning, in the pains she endured, the blood her Father had spilt, made People conclude, that she had presented his worst Actions to his consideration. And though he

The Death
of *Cromwell's*
Daughter
Claypole.

never made the least show of remorse for any of those Actions, it is very certain, that either what she said, or her death, affected him wonderfully. BOOK XV.

Whatever it was, about the middle of *August*, he was seized on by a common tertian Ague, from which, he believed, a little ease and divertisement at *Hampton-Court* would have freed him. But the fits grew stronger, and his Spirits much abated: so that he returned again to *White-Hall*, when his Physicians began to think him in danger, though the Preachers, who prayed always about him, and told God Almighty what great things he had done for him, and how much more need he had still of his Service, declared as from God, that he should recover: and he himself was of the same mind, and did not think he should die, till even the time that his Spirits failed him. Then he declared to them, "that he did appoint his Son to succeed him, his eldest Son *Richard*;" and so expired upon the third day of *September* 1658, a day he thought always very propitious to him, and on which he had twice triumphed for two of his greatest Victories. And this now was a day very memorable for the greatest Storm of Wind that had been ever known, for some hours before and after his death, with overthrew Trees, Houses, and made great Wrecks at Sea; and the tempest was so universal, that the effects of it were terrible both in *France*, and *Flanders*, where all People trembled at it; for besides the Wrecks all along the Sea-Coast, many Boats were cast away in the very Rivers; and within few days after, the circumstance of his

Cromwell
seized on by
an Ague in
August:

He appoints
his Son Ri-
chard his
Successor;
and expires,
Septem. 3.

The terrible
Storm on the
same day.

BOOK death, that accompanied that Storm, was univer-
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His Character. He was one of those Men, *quos vituperare ne inimici quidem possunt, nisi ut simul laudent*; whom his very Enemies could not condemn without commending him at the same time: for he could never have done half that mischief without great parts of Courage, Industry, and Judgment. He must have had a wonderful understanding in the Natures and Humors of Men, and as great a dexterity in applying them; who, from a private and obscure birth (though of a good Family) without Interest or Estate, Alliance or Friendship, could raise himself to such a height, and compound and knead such opposite and contradictory tempers, humors, and interests into a consistence, that contributed to His designs, and to their own destruction; whilst himself grew insensibly powerful enough to cut off those by whom he had climbed, in the instant that they projected to demolish their own building. What was said of *Cinna* may very justly be said of Him, *ausum eum, quæ nemo auderet bonus; perfecisse, quæ à nullo, nisi fortissimo perfici possent*. He attempted those things which no good Man durst have ventured on; and achieved those in which none but a valiant and great Man could have succeeded. Without doubt, no Man with more wickedness ever attempted any thing, or brought to pass what he desired more wickedly, more in the face and contempt of Religion, and moral Honesty; yet wickedness as great as his could never have accomplished those designs, without the assistance of a great Spirit, an admirable circumspection, and sagacity, and a most magnanimous resolution,

When he appeared first in the Parliament, he seemed to have a Person in no degree gracious, no ornament of discourse, none of those Talents which use to conciliate the Affections of the Stander by; yet as he grew into Place and Authority, his parts seemed to be raised, as if he had had concealed Faculties, till he had occasion to use them; and when he was to act the part of a great Man, he did it without any indecency, notwithstanding the want of Custom.

After he was confirmed, and invested Protector by the humble *Petition and Advice*, he consulted with very few upon any Action of importance, nor communicated any enterprize he resolved upon, with more than those who were to have principal parts in the execution of it; nor with them sooner than was absolutely necessary. What he once resolved, in which he was not rash, he would not be dissuaded from, nor endure any contradiction of his power and authority; but extorted obedience from them who were not willing to yield it.

One time, when he had laid some very extraordinary Tax upon the City, one *Cony*, an eminent Fanatic, and one who had heretofore served him very notably, positively refused to pay his part; and loudly dissuaded others from submitting to it, "as
" an imposition notoriously against the Law, and the
" Property of the Subject, which all honest Men
" were bound to defend." *Cromwell* sent for him, and cajoled him with the memory of " the old kindness, and Friendship, that had been between them;
" and that of all Men he did not expect this opposition from Him, in a matter that was so necessary

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BOOK XV. "for the good of the Common-wealth." It had been always his fortune to meet with the most rude, and obstinate behaviour from those who had formerly been absolutely governed by him; and they commonly put him in mind of some expressions and sayings of his own, in cases of the like nature: so this Man remembered him, how great an Enemy he had expressed himself to such grievances, and had declared, "that all, who submitted to them, and paid illegal Taxes, were more to blame, and greater Enemies to their Country than they who had imposed them; and that the Tyranny of Princes could never be grievous, but by the tameness and stupidity of the People." When *Cromwell* saw that he could not convert him, he told him, "that he had a Will as stubborn as His, and he would try which of them two should be Master." Thereupon, with some expressions of reproach and contempt, he committed the Man to Prison; whose courage was nothing abated by it; but as soon as the Term came, he brought his *Habeas-Corpus* in the King's Bench, which they then called the *Upper Bench*. *Maynard*, who was of Council with the Prisoner, demanded his Liberty with great confidence, both upon the illegality of the Commitment, and the illegality of the imposition, as being laid without any lawful Authority. The Judges could not maintain or defend either, and enough declared what their Sentence would be; and therefore the Protector's Attorney required a farther day, to answer what had been urged. Before that day, *Maynard* was committed to the Tower, for presuming to question or make doubt of his

Authority; and the Judges were sent for, and severely reprehended for suffering that Licence; when they, with all humility, mentioned the Law and *Magna Charta*, Cromwell told them, with terms of contempt, and derision, "their *Magna F*— should not control " his Actions; which he knew were for the safety of " the Common-wealth." He asked them, " who " made them Judges; whether they had any Authority to sit there, but what He gave them? and " if his Authority were at an end, they knew well " enough, what would become of themselves; and " therefore advised them to be more tender of that " which could only preserve them;" and so dismissed them with caution, " that they should not suffer the " Lawyers to prate what it would not become Them " to hear."

Thus he subdued a Spirit that had been often troublesome to the most Sovereign Power, and made *Westminster-Hall* as obedient, and subservient to his Commands, as any of the rest of his Quarters. In all other matters, which did not concern the Life of his Jurisdiction, he seemed to have great reverence for the Law, rarely interposing between Party and Party. As he proceeded with this kind of indignation, and haughtiness, with those who were refractory, and durst contend with his greatness, so towards all who complied with his good Pleasure, and courted his Protection, he used great Civility, Generosity, and Bounty.

To reduce three Nations, which perfectly hated him, to an entire obedience to all his Dictates; to awe, and govern those Nations by an Army that was

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B O O K indevoted to him, and wished his ruin, was an Instance of a very prodigious address. But his greatness at home, was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad. It was hard to discover, which feared him most, *France, Spain*, or the Low Countries, where his Friendship was current at the value he put upon it. As they did all sacrifice their Honor, and their Interest, to his Pleasure, so there is nothing he could have demanded, that either of them would have denied him. To manifest which, there needs only two Instances. The first is, when those of the Valley of *Lucern* had unwarily risen in Arms against the Duke of *Savoy*, which gave occasion to the Pope, and the Neighbour-Princes of *Italy*, to call and solicit for their extirpation, and their Prince positively resolved upon it, *Cromwell* sent his Agent to the Duke of *Savoy*, a Prince with whom he had no correspondence, or commerce, and so engaged the Cardinal, and even terrified the Pope himself, without so much as doing any Grace to the *English* Roman-Catholics (nothing being more usual than his saying, "that his Ships in the *Mediterranean* should visit *Civita Vecchia*; and that the sound of his Cannon should be heard in *Rome*") that the Duke of *Savoy* thought it necessary to restore all that he had taken from them, and did renew all those Privileges they had formerly enjoyed, and newly forfeited.

Two Instances of his Interest among foreign Princes.

The other Instance of his Authority was yet greater, and more incredible. In the City of *Nismes*, which is one of the fairest in the Province of *Languedoc*, and where those of the Religion do most abound, there was a great Faction at that Season when the

Consuls (who are the Chief Magistrates) were to be chosen. Those of the Reformed Religion had the confidence to set up one of themselves for that Magistracy; which they of the Roman Religion resolved to oppose with all their Power. The dissension between them made so much noise, that the Intendant of the Province, who is the supreme Minister in all Civil Affairs throughout the whole Province, went thither to prevent any disorder that might happen. When the day of Election came, those of the Religion possessed themselves with many Armed Men of the Town-House, where the Election was to be made. The Magistrates sent to know what their meaning was; to which they answered, "they were there to give their Voices for the choice of the new Consuls, and to be sure that the Election should be fairly made." The Bishop of the City, the Intendant of the Province, with all the Officers of the Church, and the present Magistrates of the Town, went together in their Robes to be present at the Election, without any suspicion that there would be any Force used. When they came near the Gate of the Town-House, which was shut, and they supposed would be opened when they came, they within poured out a Volly of Musket-shot upon them, by which the Dean of the Church, and two or three of the Magistrates of the Town, were killed upon the place, and very many others wounded; whereof some died shortly after. In this Confusion, the Magistrates put themselves into as good a posture to defend themselves as they could, without any purpose of offending the others, till they should be better pro-

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vided; in order to which they sent an Express to the Court with a plain relation of the whole matter of fact, "and that there appeared to be no manner of Combination with those of the Religion in other places of the Province; but that it was an insolence in those of the place, upon the presumption of their great Numbers, which were little inferior to those of the Catholics." The Court was glad of the Occasion, and resolved that this provocation, in which other places were not involved, and which nobody could excuse, should warrant all kind of severity in that City, even to the pulling down their Temples, and expelling many of them for ever out of the City; which, with the execution and torturing of many of the principal Persons, would be a general Mortification to all of the Religion in *France*; with whom they were heartily offended; and a part of the Army was forthwith ordered to march towards *Nismes*, to see this executed with the utmost rigour.

Those of the Religion in the Town, were quickly sensible into what condition they had brought themselves; and sent, with all possible Submission, to the Magistrates to excuse themselves, and to impute what had been done to the rashness of particular Men, who had no order for what they did. The Magistrates answered, "that they were glad they were sensible of their Miscarriage; but they could say nothing upon the Subject, till the King's pleasure should be known; to whom they had sent a full relation of all that had passed." The others very well knew what the King's pleasure would be, and forthwith sent an Express, one *Moulins*, who had lived

many years in that place, and in *Montpelier*, to *Cromwell*, to desire his protection and interposition. The Express made so much haste, and found so good a reception the first hour he came, that *Cromwell*, after he had received the whole Account, bade him "refresh himself after so long a Journey, and he would take such care of his business, that by the time he came to *Paris* he should find it despatched;" and, that Night, sent away another Messenger to his Ambassador *Lockhart*; who, by the time *Moulins* came thither, had so far prevailed with the Cardinal, that Orders were sent to stop the Troops, which were upon their March towards *Nismes*; and, within few days after, *Moulins* returned with a full Pardon, and Amnesty from the King, under the Great-Seal of *France*, so fully confirmed with all circumstances, that there was never farther mention made of it, but all things passed as if there had never been any such thing. So that no body can wonder, that his Memory remains still in those parts, and with those People, in great veneration.

He would never suffer himself to be denied any thing he ever asked of the Cardinal, alledging, "that the People would not be otherwise satisfied;" which the Cardinal bore very heavily, and complained of to those with whom he would be free. One day, he visited *Madam Turenne*, and when he took his leave of her, She, according to her Custom, besought him to continue gracious to the Churches. Whereupon the Cardinal told her, "that he knew not how to behave himself; if he advised the King to punish and suppress their Insolence; *Cromwell* threatened

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The Conclu-
sion of his
Character.

“ him to join with the *Spaniard*; and if he showed
“ any favor to them, at *Rome* they accounted him a
“ Heretic.”

To Conclude his Character, *Cromwell* was not so far a Man of blood, as to follow, *Machiavel's* method; which prescribes, upon a total alteration of Government, as a thing absolutely necessary, to cut off all the heads of those, and extirpate their Families, who are Friends to the old one. It was confidently reported, that, in the Council of Officers, it was more than once proposed, “ that there might be a general Massacre of all the Royal Party, as the only expedient “ to secure the Government, but that *Cromwell* “ would never consent to it;” it may be, out of too great a contempt of his Enemies. In a word, as he was guilty of many Crimes against which Damnation is denounced, and for which Hell-fire is prepared, so he had some good Qualities which have caused the Memory of some Men in all Ages to be celebrated; and he will be looked upon by Posterity as a brave wicked Man.

END OF THE ELEVENTH VOLUME.

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